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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

PART XVIII.

[J 1860/56/16] No. 1.

Sir P. Loraine to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 30.)

(No. 168.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Athens, June 29, 1929.*

PLEASE see my telegram No. 158.

Attacks are already being made upon the Government on account of their having, as is alleged, given way to the Turkish exiles. The newly-formed committee of party leaders and elder statesmen has been favoured with an explanation of the Government policy.

According to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who gave me the information personally and confidentially, the committee unanimously approved the basis of that policy, which is to "organise peace with Turkey," and in the main approved the Government's proposed measures to that end. The Greek delegation has now received instructions to offer even greater sacrifices than those acquiesced in three weeks ago, but this represents the limit to which they will go, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs has informed his Turkish opposite number that public opinion will under no circumstances allow him to go any further.

Copy sent Constantinople by bag.

[E 3326/479/44] No. 2.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 1.)

(No. 281.)
Sir, *Constantinople, June 26, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that an agreement was recently concluded between the Turkish Government and the Oriental Railway Company which provided for the readaptation of the company's concession and for the settlement of a number of questions which have been in dispute for some years past.

2. The company undertake in the agreement to pay to the Turkish Government the sum of 6,500,000 gold francs, representing the Government's share in the company's receipts since 1912. As regards the future, the company are entitled to retain from their annual gross receipts 12,000 gold francs per kilometre of line in Turkish territory. Seventy-five per cent. of the gross receipts in excess of this amount are allocated to the company and the remaining 25 per cent. to the Turkish Government.

3. In so far as the Oriental Railway Company's lines in Turkish territory are concerned, the company undertake to take the necessary steps to turn themselves into a Turkish limited liability company by the end of 1931.

4. The principal point of interest lies, however, in the letters annexed to the agreement. By these communications, addressed to the Minister of Public Works, the company agree to construct, at their own expense and at the request of the Turkish Government, a line between Adrianople and some point, at present unspecified, on the existing railway line; this line is to be entirely within Turkish territory. The exploitation of the line will be ceded to the company on the same conditions as the existing lines, provided that its construction is completed within a period of three years.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[J 1832/56/16] No. 3.

Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople).

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic) *Foreign Office, July 1, 1929.*

YOUR telegram No. 5 to Cairo of 28th June: Jurisdiction of Mixed Courts over non-capitulatory foreigners.

You should inform the Turkish Government that the composition and competence of the Mixed Courts are determined by international treaties, and that neither His Majesty's Government, the Residency nor the Egyptian Government have any control over their procedure or decisions. The Egyptian Government can be, and often are, sued before the Mixed Courts and have frequently lost their cases. You may, if you think fit, add Lord Lloyd's explanation of his attitude as given in the last paragraph of his telegram No. 62 to you.

(Repeated to Cairo, No. 210.)

[E 3486/92/44] No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No. 257.)
Sir, *Angora, June 4, 1929.*

A SHORT time ago the President of the Republic issued formal invitations to the heads of missions and the senior members of the Embassies and Legations in Turkey to a garden party in the late afternoon of the 1st June at his recently-finished villa outside Angora.

2. The invitation placed me in a position of some perplexity. It was obviously impossible to refuse, while, on the other hand, acceptance made it equally impossible for me to be at Constantinople for the usual garden party in celebration of His Majesty's birthday on the 3rd June, without great discourtesy, as there was no express on the evening of the 2nd June, and I could only do so by leaving the President's party early and going straight on board the train. There was the further consideration that to do this would be to hurt Turkish susceptibilities in their tenderest point, for I could not more markedly emphasise my disregard of Angora as the capital of the country.

3. I therefore reluctantly decided that I must break with the practice of many years, and hold my official reception on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday at Angora instead of Constantinople, at which place I arranged that the British community should be received in the Embassy garden by His Majesty's consul-general and Mrs. Waugh.

4. The still somewhat primitive conditions at Angora, and more especially the lack of space in the Embassy house there and the rocky and uncultivated condition of the ground, entailed elaborate and expensive arrangements beforehand which were only carried through by the devotion and strenuous work of my staff. These preparations were in full swing and the invitations to the Turkish authorities and my diplomatic colleagues had been issued, when a heavy rain storm washed away the terrace of the Ghazi's newly-laid-out garden and his party was called off, too late, however, for it to be possible for me to alter my arrangements.

5. I accordingly came up to Angora on the 1st June and held my reception yesterday. Fortunately, the weather, which had been threatening, proved kind and, whatever the shortcomings of the entertainment, the view in the evening light from the little terrace across the plateau to the citadel in Angora and the mountains beyond made a setting whose beauty was worthy of the occasion.

6. It is also satisfactory to me to be able to record that the Turkish authorities did everything possible to show their appreciation of my action. The Director of the Protocol called upon me officially in the morning to express the congratulations of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, while the President of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the leading Turkish Deputies and official authorities attended the party and were almost demonstrative in their expressions of friendliness. The President of the Republic not only lent me his band, but also sent his aide-de-camp general to the party to convey his personal congratulations to His Majesty and his best wishes for His Majesty's complete restoration to health.

7. The only notable absentees from the reception were the high officers of the General Staff, and they went out of their way this morning to express to my military attaché their great regret, since they had every intention of attending, but they had been working against time until late in the evening completing all the papers, maps, &c., required for the signature of the Franco-Turkish Agreement which has just been concluded, and I have no reason to consider that this explanation is not genuine.

8. In short, the Turkish Government took the party as a marked demonstration of our genuine goodwill and were correspondingly pleased.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3423/274/44] No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 8.)

(No. 287.)
Sir, *Constantinople, July 1, 1929.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 416 of 17th June, I have the honour to report that the French experts having arrived in Angora negotiations for a Franco-Turkish commercial treaty have now been opened.

2. I understand that, in view of the necessity for drawing up a list of conventional tariffs, it is expected that the negotiations will be somewhat protracted.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3424/109/44] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 8.)

(No. 288.)

Sir, *Angora, July 2, 1929.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 54 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith an original letter,* dated to-day, together with a translation, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, regarding the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between Great Britain and Turkey, pending the conclusion of the treaty of commerce now under negotiation.

2. I also enclose a copy of the letter to the same effect which I have addressed to-day to Dr. Tevfik Rushdi Bey.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 6.

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Sir G. Clerk.

(Translation.)

Your Excellency, *Angora, July 2, 1929.*

IT being the desire of the Government of the Republic of Turkey and of His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to avoid any impediment to the trade and commerce of their respective countries on the lapse of the Commercial Convention signed at Lausanne on the 24th July, 1923, and pending the entry into force of the treaty of commerce and navigation now being negotiated, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Government of the Republic of Turkey undertakes, on condition of reciprocity, to accord, as from the 6th August, 1929, to British citizens, and goods the produce or manufacture of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, treatment in Turkey which shall be as favourable in all respects as that accorded to the nationals of, and goods the produce or manufacture of, the most favoured foreign country. This treatment shall be accorded in all matters of commerce and navigation, and as regards importation, exportation and transit, and in general all that concerns customs duties and formalities and commercial operations, the establishment of British subjects in Turkey, the exercise of commerce, industries and professions and the payment of taxes.

2. British vessels, their cargoes and passengers shall enjoy in the ports, rivers and territorial waters of Turkey treatment not less favourable than that accorded to the vessels of the most favoured foreign country and their cargoes and passengers.

3. The foregoing stipulations shall be extended, on condition of reciprocity, to any of His Britannic Majesty's Colonies, Possessions or Protectorates, or to any mandated territory administered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, if a notification to that effect is given by His Britannic Majesty's representative in Turkey to the Government of the Republic of Turkey.

4. The Government of any of His Britannic Majesty's self-governing Dominions, or the Government of India, may, on condition of reciprocity, accede to the present *modus vivendi* by giving notice through His Britannic Majesty's representative in Turkey of their desire that its stipulations shall apply to their respective territories, including any mandated territories administered by such Governments.

5. The undertakings contained in this note will take effect as from the 6th August, 1929, and will remain in force for a period of six months at least, it being understood that they may be terminated by either party by giving three months' notice at the end of the third month or at any time subsequently. Failing such notice, they will remain in force until the entry into force of the treaty of commerce and navigation now being negotiated, as from which date they will in any event *ipso facto* cease to be effective.

6. As regards any of His Britannic Majesty's self governing Dominions, India, or any Colony, Possession, Protectorate, or mandated territory in respect of which notification of accession to this *modus vivendi* has been made in virtue of paragraph 4 above, or notice of the application of this *modus vivendi* has been given in virtue of paragraph 3 above, it may be terminated separately by either party, at the end of the third month or at any time subsequently, on three months' notice to that effect being given either by or to His Britannic Majesty's representative in Turkey.

I avail, &c.
Dr. RUSTI.

Enclosure 2 in No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Your Excellency, *Angora, July 2, 1929.*

IT being the desire of His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the Turkish Government to avoid any impediment to the trade and commerce of their respective countries on the lapse of the Commercial Convention signed at Lausanne on the 24th July, 1923, and pending the entry into force of the treaty of commerce and navigation now being negotiated, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom undertake, on condition of reciprocity, to accord, as from the 6th August, 1929, to Turkish citizens, and goods the produce or manufacture of Turkey, a treatment in Great Britain and Northern Ireland which shall be as favourable in all respects as that accorded to the nationals of, and goods the produce or manufacture of, the most-favoured-foreign country. This treatment shall be accorded in all matters of commerce and navigation, and as regards importation, exportation and transit, and in general all that concerns customs duties and formalities and commercial operations, the establishment of Turkish citizens in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the exercise of commerce, industries and professions and the payment of taxes.

2. Turkish vessels, their cargoes and passengers shall enjoy in the ports, rivers and territorial waters of Great Britain and Northern Ireland treatment not less favourable than that accorded to the vessels of the most-favoured-foreign country and their cargoes and passengers.

3. The foregoing stipulations shall be extended, on condition of reciprocity, to any of His Britannic Majesty's Colonies, Possessions or Protectorates, or to any mandated territory administered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, if a notification to that effect is given by His Britannic Majesty's representative in Turkey to the Government of the Turkish Republic.

4. The Government of any of His Majesty's self-governing Dominions, or the Government of India, may, on condition of reciprocity, accede to the present *modus vivendi* by giving notice through His Britannic Majesty's representative in Turkey of their desire that its stipulations shall apply to their respective territories, including any mandated territories administered by such Governments.

5. The undertakings contained in this note will take effect as from the 6th August, 1929, and will remain in force for a period of six months at least, it being understood that they may be terminated by either party by giving three months' notice at the end of the third month or at any time subsequently. Failing such notice it will remain in force until the entry into force of the treaty of commerce and navigation now being negotiated, as from which date it will in any event *ipso facto* cease to be effective.

6. As regards any of His Majesty's self-governing Dominions, India, or any Colony, Possession, Protectorate or mandated territory in respect of which notification of accession to this *modus vivendi* has been made in virtue of paragraph 4 above, or notice of the application of this *modus vivendi* has been given in virtue of paragraph 3 above, it may be terminated separately by either party, at the end of the third month or at any time subsequently on three month's notice to that effect being given either by or to His Britannic Majesty's representative in Turkey.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

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* Not printed.

[E 3425/109/44] No. 7.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received July 8*)

(No. 280.)

Sir, *Angora, July 2, 1929.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 54 of to-day, I have the honour to transmit to you, herewith, the text of the draft treaty of commerce which was initialled this afternoon by his Excellency Zekâi Bey, head of the Turkish delegation, and myself, *ad referendum* to our respective Governments, together with a copy of the provisional *procès-verbal* signed by us both at the same time.

2. I also enclose a memorandum showing the differences between the present text and that of the original draft treaty enclosed in Eastern Department's letter of the 4th February last. I think that this memorandum summarises sufficiently the reasons for the modifications which I have been forced to make in the original draft, but there are one or two points on which I venture to offer further observations.

3. Firstly, as regards article 13, and the reference to it in the provisional *procès-verbal* attached to the draft treaty. The possibility against which the Turks wish to protect themselves seems rather remote, but I take it that for so long as a concessionary company, founded as a Turkish company in accordance with Turkish law, which stipulates for control in Turkish hands, continues to be regarded by the Turkish Government as fulfilling these conditions, it will not be necessary for the British authorities, when assessing the taxation of a branch of that company established in the United Kingdom, to make independent enquiries to ascertain whether the company is, in effect, Turkish and complies with Turkish legislation.

4. I must also draw your attention to paragraph 3 of the draft final protocol, referring to this same article. The stipulation is one which it is difficult to reject since it only records existing Turkish law, but it does, or could be made to, apply to the Smyrna–Aidin Railway, whose position at present is certainly anomalous, being neither a British nor a Turkish company. It is true that the law is not retroactive, and it may be held that the Smyrna–Aidin Railway is in an exceptional position, but unless that company is prepared to convert itself into a Turkish company, we need to have our arguments ready in case the Turkish Government insist on its compliance with Turkish law. The stipulation also covers existing British firms which, though registered in Great Britain, carry on all their business in Turkey. They are not numerous, perhaps ten or fifteen in all, and only two or three of any importance, and they would anyhow become liable to Turkish law in 1931, but we should try to save them if possible. I did not discuss the question in Angora for I should have received a direct refusal, whereas if His Majesty's Government make safeguarding of these interests in future a condition of accepting the treaty, we may be able at least to reach a compromise satisfactory to these British firms. We might, anyhow, make our assent to Turkish request as to article 13 of provisional *procès-verbal* dependent on this.

5. As regards article 25, paragraph 2, of the draft final *procès-verbal*, and paragraph 2 of the provisional *procès-verbal*, I imagine that what it was intended to convey by the original British draft was a case such as follows: Supposing there were one line of British steamers, going from London to Constantinople and Trebizond, and another line of British steamers going from Constanza to Constantinople and Smyrna and Alexandria, and no direct line from London to Smyrna, a passenger with a ticket from London to Smyrna should be allowed to trans-ship at Constantinople from one steamer to another. Since Turkish boats run regularly between Constantinople and Smyrna, it seems to me that it would be difficult in such a case not to recognise the principle of cabotage.

6. I am addressing a separate despatch to you in regard to article 36, which deals with the abolition of the Lausanne Residence Convention.

7. It was scarcely to be expected that the Turkish Government, knowing its own inexperience in drafting commercial treaties, with its still deeply-rooted suspicion of foreigners and their superior cunning, and with its dread of admitting anything that might suggest a shadow of the former privileged position of foreigners, would swallow the British draft treaty whole. Some of the criticisms and objections of the Turkish delegation were valid enough, being cases where either legislation or policy made it impossible to accept the British text, but others arose from exaggerated susceptibilities or sheer incapacity to understand. On the former, the British delegation sought instructions from His Majesty's Government, and, in the light of these instructions, endeavoured to maintain the substance of what it was desired to have in the treaty, while, if necessary, modifying the form so as to meet the Turkish point of view. In the case of those objections, which seemed to raise no question of principle, the British delegation felt that it was justified in going as far as possible to meet the Turks without overloading your Department and the Board of Trade with constant references home.

8. The result is the draft text which I have the honour to submit to you herewith, in the hope that, widely though it may depart in form from the standard model of our commercial treaties, it may be found, when consideration is given to the peculiar difficulties of the situation, to contain the essence of what is necessary to safeguard British commerce and industry. If this should prove to be the case, the result is due largely to the readiness which the Foreign Office and Board of Trade have shown to meet the Turkish objections, largely, it must be admitted, to the goodwill of the Turkish delegation, and its anxiety to meet us so far as it could do so, and, most of all, I venture to say, to the assiduous and capable work of Mr. Edmonds, Colonel Woods, and especially of Mr. Roberts, on whom fell most of the heat and burden of the discussions in committee. The fact that we have been able to produce a treaty which still possesses some resemblance to the original British draft is owing, more than anything else, to the cogency of argument and fertility of suggestion displayed by Mr. Roberts during the negotiations.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure 1 in No. 7.

TRAITÉ ANGLO-TURC DE COMMERCE ET DE NAVIGATION.

SA Majesté le Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires britanniques au delà des Mers, Empereur des Indes, et son Excellence le Président de la République turque, animés du désir de favoriser le développement du commerce de leurs pays respectifs et de régler au moyen d'un traité les relations commerciales entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Irlande du Nord, ainsi que tels autres territoires sous la souveraineté, la protection ou l'autorité de Sa Majesté britannique qu'elle voudrait assujettir au régime du traité, d'une part, et la Turquie de l'autre part, ont résolu de conclure un traité à cet effet, et ont nommé pour leurs plénipotentiaires, savoir:

Sa Majesté le Roi de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires britanniques au delà des Mers, Empereur des Indes:

Pour la Grande-Bretagne et l'Irlande du Nord:

Le très honorable Sir George Russell Clerk, G.C.M.G., C.B., Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté en Turquie;

Son Excellence le Président de la République turque:

Son Excellence Zekâi Bey, ancien Ministre et Ambassadeur, Député de Diarbékir,
Son Excellence Mustafa Seref Bey, Député de Bordur,
Son Excellence Menemenli Numan Rifat Bey, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au Ministère des Affaires étrangères;

Lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des dispositions suivantes:

ARTICLE 1er.

Les territoires auxquels s'applique le présent traité sont, de la part de Sa Majesté britannique, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Irlande du Nord, ainsi que les territoires qui auront été l'objet d'un avis d'adhésion, conformément à l'article 38, ou d'un avis d'application, conformément à l'article 37.

ARTICLE 2.

L'expression "sociétés des hautes parties contractantes" s'interprétera, aux fins du présent traité, et en ce qui concerne chacune des hautes parties contractantes, de façon à s'appliquer aux sociétés, anonymes et autres, et aux associations formées aux fins du commerce, de la finance, de l'industrie, du transport ou de n'importe quel autre genre d'affaires commerciales et économiques, qui sont en activité dans les territoires de cette partie auxquels s'applique le présent traité, pourvu qu'elles aient été dûment constituées selon les lois qui y sont en vigueur et qu'elles n'y poursuivent pas un but illicite.

ARTICLE 3.

Tous les vaisseaux qui sont estimés selon la loi turque être des vaisseaux turcs, et tous les vaisseaux qui sont estimés selon la loi britannique être des vaisseaux britanniques, seront estimés, aux fins de ce traité, être des vaisseaux turcs ou britanniques respectivement.

ARTICLE 4.

Il y aura entre les territoires des hautes parties contractantes la liberté réciproque du commerce et de la navigation.

Les citoyens ou sujets de chacune des hautes parties contractantes auront libre accès, en se conformant aux lois et règlements du pays, avec leurs navires et leurs cargaisons, à tous endroits et ports dans les territoires de l'autre haute partie contractante dont l'accès est ou sera ouvert aux citoyens ou sujets de celle-ci, à l'exception toutefois des zones dont l'accès serait interdit aux étrangers sans distinction de nationalité pour des motifs de sécurité ou d'ordre stratégique.

Ils jouiront des mêmes droits, privilèges, libertés, faveurs, immunités et exemptions en matière de commerce et de navigation que ceux dont jouissent ou jouiront les citoyens ou sujets de l'autre haute partie contractante.

ARTICLE 5.

Les citoyens ou sujets de l'une des hautes parties contractantes auront le droit d'entrer dans les territoires de l'autre, d'y circuler et d'y résider, tant qu'ils se conformeront aux lois, règlements et ordonnances portant sur l'admission, la circulation et le séjour des étrangers en général.

Il est entendu toutefois que les dispositions du présent traité ne portent atteinte ni au droit de chacune des hautes parties contractantes d'autoriser ou d'interdire librement l'immigration sur son territoire, ni aux règlements qui sont ou seront en vigueur en matière de passeports.

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes se réserve le droit d'interdire, soit à la suite d'une sentence légale, soit en vertu des lois et règlements sur la police des mœurs, sur la police sanitaire ou sur la mendicité, soit pour des motifs de sûreté intérieure ou extérieure de l'État, à des individus citoyens ou sujets de l'autre partie de s'établir ou de séjourner sur son territoire et de les expulser pour ces motifs.

ARTICLE 6.

Les citoyens ou sujets de chacune des hautes parties contractantes jouiront dans les territoires de l'autre, en ce qui concerne la protection légale et judiciaire de leurs biens, droits et intérêts du même traitement que les nationaux.

ARTICLE 7.

Les citoyens ou sujets de l'une des hautes parties contractantes pourront, à condition de se conformer aux lois en vigueur dans les territoires de l'autre, y exercer leur commerce, soit en personne, soit par l'entremise des agents dont il leur semblera bon de se servir.

Les hautes parties contractantes sont convenues que, dans tout ce qui se rapporte au commerce, à la navigation et à l'industrie, à l'exercice des professions ou métiers, ou d'une occupation de n'importe quelle espèce, les privilèges, faveurs ou immunités que l'une des hautes parties contractantes a déjà accordés, ou accordera ultérieurement, aux navires et citoyens ou sujets d'un autre pays étranger seront étendus, simultanément et sans demande, condition, ou compensation, aux navires et citoyens ou sujets de l'autre; leur intention étant de s'assurer réciproquement à cet égard le pied d'égalité avec la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 8.

Les hautes parties contractantes pourront réserver à leurs propres nationaux, en vertu de lois et règlements, les industries ambulantes, le colportage, ainsi que tout autre métier ou profession qu'ils jugeront opportun.

ARTICLE 9.

A condition de se conformer aux lois et règlements du pays, les citoyens ou sujets de chacune des hautes parties contractantes jouiront à tous les égards dans les territoires de l'autre, quant à leur personne, leurs biens, droits et intérêts, l'exercice de leur commerce, industrie, profession, emploi ou métier ou une autre matière quelconque, du même traitement et de la même protection légale que les citoyens ou sujets de celle-ci en ce qui concerne les impôts, contributions, droits de douane, taxes, redevances équivalant à des impôts, et autres impositions similaires.

Les dispositions de ce traité ne font pas obstacle à la perception, le cas échéant, des taxes afférentes à l'admission, à la circulation et au séjour des étrangers en général ainsi qu'aux formalités de leur enregistrement. Cette matière sera régie par le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 10.

Les citoyens ou sujets de chacune des hautes parties contractantes auront dans les territoires de l'autre la liberté complète d'acquérir et de posséder toute sorte de biens, mobiliers et immobiliers, dont l'acquisition ou la possession est ou sera permise par les lois de l'autre haute partie contractante aux citoyens ou sujets de n'importe quel pays étranger. Ils pourront en disposer par vente, échange, donation, mariage, testament ou de toute autre manière, ou les acquérir par voie de succession, sous les mêmes conditions que celles qui sont ou seront établies en ce qui concerne les citoyens ou sujets de l'autre haute partie contractante.

Ils ne pourront être assujettis dans aucun des cas prévus à l'alinéa précédent à des impôts, taxes ou charges, de quelle nature que ce soit, autres ou plus élevés que ceux qui sont ou seront applicables aux citoyens ou sujets de l'autre haute partie contractante.

Il leur sera également permis d'exporter librement, en se conformant aux lois et règlements du pays, leurs biens et leurs effets en général. Ils ne seront assujettis dans cette matière à aucune autre restriction ni à aucun droit autre ou plus élevé que ceux auxquels seraient soumis en pareilles circonstances les citoyens ou sujets de l'autre haute partie contractante.

ARTICLE 11.

Les citoyens ou sujets de l'une des hautes parties contractantes auront dans les territoires de l'autre libre accès aux tribunaux aux fins de poursuivre et défendre leurs droits, sans autres conditions, restrictions ou taxes que celles imposées aux nationaux, et jouiront, comme ceux-ci, de la liberté de choisir, dans tous les procès, leurs avocats, avoués ou agents parmi les personnes admises à l'exercice de ces professions selon les lois des territoires en question.

Les dispositions relatives à la caution *judicatum solvi* et à l'assistance judiciaire gratuite seront régies par la législation locale jusqu'au moment du règlement de ces questions par une convention spéciale à conclure entre les deux pays.

ARTICLE 12.

Les citoyens ou sujets de chacune des hautes parties contractantes seront exempts, en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre, de tout service militaire obligatoire, aussi bien dans l'armée de terre, la marine, ou les forces aériennes, que dans la garde ou la milice nationale, ainsi que de l'exercice de n'importe quelles fonctions judiciaires, administratives ou municipales, sous réserve des exceptions spécifiques prévues par les lois respectives. Ils seront également exemptés de toutes contributions, soit en argent, soit en nature, imposées à titre d'équivalent pour tels services ou pour l'exercice de telles fonctions.

Les citoyens ou sujets et les sociétés de l'une des hautes parties contractantes ne seront en aucun cas assujettis à des réquisitions militaires ou civiles autres que celles

qui pourraient être imposées aux citoyens ou sujets ou sociétés de l'autre haute partie contractante. En ce qui concerne la procédure et l'indemnisation desdites réquisitions, ils seront soumis à la législation locale, au même titre que les nationaux.

Article 13

Les sociétés de chacune des hautes parties contractantes pourront exercer dans les territoires de l'autre partie, en se conformant aux lois et règlements du pays, soit en y établissant des succursales, soit d'une autre manière quelconque, toute activité permise par la loi, et dont l'exercice par les sociétés ou associations d'un autre pays étranger quelconque est ou serait reconnu licite.

Elles auront le droit d'ester en justice, soit comme demandeurs, soit comme défendeurs, sous réserve des dispositions de la loi de l'autre partie. En ce qui concerne la protection légale et judiciaire de leurs biens, droits et intérêts, elles jouiront du même traitement que les sociétés nationales.

Les sociétés de chacune des hautes parties contractantes, ainsi que leurs succursales ou filiales, jouiront dans les territoires de l'autre, en ce qui concerne les impôts, contributions, droits de douane, taxes, redevances équivalant à des impôts, et autres charges similaires, du même traitement que les sociétés de l'autre haute partie contractante. Il reste cependant entendu qu'elles seront astreintes à acquitter les taxes afférentes à l'obtention des actes d'autorisation et d'enregistrement pour les sociétés étrangères, et à déposer les cautionnements prévus par la loi, ces matières étant régies par le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

La concession réciproque du traitement national ne pourra non plus être invoquée pour réclamer le bénéfice des exonérations d'impôts qui pourraient être accordées à des établissements fondés par l'Etat, à des sociétés dans lesquelles l'Etat serait intéressé, ou à des concessionnaires d'un service public.

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes se conformera aux principes suivants en ce qui concerne l'imposition des succursales ou filiales dans ses territoires des entreprises appartenant à, et dirigées et contrôlées par, des ressortissants de l'autre haute partie contractante qui résident en dehors des territoires de la première partie:

1. Toute imposition à percevoir sur le capital ne sera calculée que sur le capital réellement investi dans ces territoires;
2. Toute imposition à percevoir sur le bénéfice ou le revenu ne sera calculée que sur le bénéfice ou le revenu provenant des opérations effectuées ou contrôlées dans ces territoires;
3. Toute imposition à percevoir sur le chiffre d'affaires ne sera calculée que sur les affaires effectuées ou contrôlées dans ces territoires.

D'autre part, à condition de réciprocité, et en se conformant aux lois du pays, les sociétés de chacune des hautes parties contractantes pourront, sous réserve des restrictions prévues par la législation du pays, acquérir sur les territoires de l'autre partie toute espèce de biens meubles et immeubles nécessaires au fonctionnement de la société, étant entendu que, dans ce cas, l'acquisition n'est pas l'objet même de la société.

Toutes autres matières concernant les sociétés et qui n'auraient pas été prévues au présent article seront régies par le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

Article 14

Les articles produits ou fabriqués dans les territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes, et importés aux territoires de l'autre, ne seront assujettis, quelle que soit leur provenance immédiate, à des droits ou charges autres ou plus élevés que ceux qui sont acquittés par des articles similaires produits ou fabriqués dans n'importe quel autre pays étranger.

Article 15

Les articles produits ou fabriqués dans les territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes, et exportés aux territoires de l'autre, ne seront assujettis à des droits ou charges autres ou plus élevés que ceux qui sont acquittés par des articles similaires exportés à n'importe quel autre pays étranger.

Article 16

Aucune prohibition ou restriction ne sera maintenue ni imposée sur l'importation aux territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes de n'importe quel article, produit ou fabriqué dans les territoires de l'autre, quelle que soit sa provenance immédiate, qui ne s'étendrait pas également à l'importation d'articles similaires produits ou fabriqués dans un autre pays étranger quelconque.

Aucune prohibition ou restriction ne sera maintenue ni imposée sur l'exportation de n'importe quel article des territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes aux territoires de l'autre, qui ne s'étendrait également à l'exportation d'articles similaires à destination de tout autre pays étranger.

Il ne sera admis des exceptions à la règle générale établie dans les alinéas précédents de cet article que dans les cas suivants, étant toujours entendu que les prohibitions ou restrictions en question seront étendues en même temps et de la même manière à d'autres pays étrangers se trouvant dans les mêmes conditions:

1. Prohibitions ou restrictions imposées dans l'intérêt de la sécurité publique;
2. Prohibitions ou restrictions visant le trafic des armes, munitions et instruments de guerre, ou, exceptionnellement, de toutes autres fournitures militaires;
3. Prohibitions ou restrictions imposées dans l'intérêt de la santé publique;
4. Prohibitions ou restrictions imposées pour la protection des animaux ou des plantes, y compris la protection contre la maladie, la dégénération ou l'extinction, ainsi que les mesures prises contre les semences, plantes ou animaux nuisibles.

Article 17

Au cas où des prohibitions ou restrictions seraient imposées à l'importation ou à l'exportation de marchandises quelconques, les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent, en ce qui concerne les permis d'importation et d'exportation, à faire tout leur possible pour s'assurer:

(*a*) Que les conditions à remplir et les formalités à observer afin de se procurer un permis soient portées immédiatement, et dans la forme la plus claire et la plus nette, à la connaissance du public;

(*b*) Que le procédé pour la délivrance des certificats ou permis soit aussi simple et aussi stable que possible;

(*c*) Que l'examen des demandes et la délivrance des permis aux demandeurs aient lieu dans un délai minimum;

(*d*) Que le système pour la délivrance des permis soit de nature à empêcher le trafic des permis. Dans ce but, les permis délivrés à des individus devront mentionner le nom du titulaire et ne pas être susceptibles d'utilisation par une autre personne quelconque;

(*e*) Que, en cas de contingentement, les formalités exigées par le pays importateur ne soient pas de nature à empêcher une allocation équitable des quantités de marchandises dont l'importation est autorisée.

Les conditions sous lesquelles les permis seront délivrés pour les marchandises produites ou fabriquées dans les territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes importées dans les territoires de l'autre ou y exportées seront aussi favorables que celles sous lesquelles les permis seront délivrés aux marchandises d'un autre pays étranger quelconque.

Article 18

Le trafic des matières stupéfiantes continuera à être assujetti dans les territoires des hautes parties contractantes à leurs législations respectives.

Article 19

Les droits internes prélevés dans les territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes, au profit de l'Etat ou des autorités ou corporations locales, sur les produits naturels ou fabriqués des territoires de l'autre partie ne seront ni autres ni plus élevés que ceux prélevés dans des circonstances semblables sur les marchandises similaires d'origine nationale.

Il est convenu que dans le cas où il s'agirait de produits naturels ou fabriqués dont les similaires ne seraient pas produits ou fabriqués dans les territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée sera appliqué

ARTICLE 20

Les hautes parties contractantes sont convenues que le traitement des échantillons de commerce, à l'entrée dans leurs pays respectifs, sera déterminé pendant la durée du présent traité par les dispositions de la Convention turco-britannique sur les échantillons de commerce, signée le 15 janvier 1929.

Tous privilèges ou facilités supplémentaires qui auraient été ou pourraient être accordés par l'une des parties à un pays étranger quelconque, en ce qui concerne les représentants de commerce ou les échantillons, seront étendus à l'autre partie sans aucune condition.

ARTICLE 21

Les mesures prises par les hautes parties contractantes afin de régler et d'effectuer le mouvement de marchandises à travers leurs territoires devront faciliter le libre transit par chemin de fer ou par voie d'eau sur les itinéraires usités et convenables au trafic international. Il ne sera établi aucune distinction basée sur la nationalité des personnes, le pavillon des vaisseaux, le lieu d'origine, de départ, d'entrée, de sortie ou de destination ni sur aucune circonstance relative à la propriété des marchandises ou des vaisseaux, du matériel roulant à voyageurs ou à marchandises, ou autres moyens de transport.

Afin d'assurer l'application des dispositions précédentes, les hautes parties contractantes pourront, sous les conditions et réserves d'usage, le transit par bureaux spéciaux.

Les marchandises en transit ne seront assujetties à aucun droit spécial afférent au transit (y compris l'entrée et la sortie), exception faite des taxes devant servir exclusivement à couvrir les frais de surveillance, de statistique et d'administration entraînés par le transit lui-même.

Les dispositions précédentes ne portent aucune atteinte aux lois douanières concernant le traitement des marchandises en transit, notamment en ce qui a trait aux marchandises faisant l'objet d'un droit interne ou d'un monopole d'Etat. Le transit de ces marchandises ne sera cependant entravé que dans la mesure nécessaire afin d'assurer la perception éventuelle du droit interne ou le maintien des stocks restant dans les territoires de chacune des parties, ou de sauvegarder le but du monopole.

Ni l'une ni l'autre des hautes parties contractantes ne sera tenue par cet article d'admettre le transit de voyageurs à qui l'accès de leurs territoires est interdit, ni de marchandises dont l'importation ou l'exportation est interdite, en vertu des dispositions de l'article 16.

Aux fins du présent article les personnes, bagages et marchandises, ainsi que les vaisseaux, le matériel roulant à voyageurs et à marchandises et les autres moyens de transport seront censés être en transit à travers les territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes à condition que le passage à travers ces territoires avec ou sans transbordement, emmagasinage, rupture de charge ou changement du mode de transport, ne soit qu'une partie d'un voyage complet, ayant son commencement et sa fin également au delà de la frontière de la partie dont les territoires sont parcourus en transit.

ARTICLE 22

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes permettra l'importation ou l'exportation sur les vaisseaux de l'autre de toute marchandise pouvant légalement être importée ou exportée ainsi que le transport des voyageurs quittant leurs territoires respectifs ou s'y rendant. Ces vaisseaux, leurs cargaisons et leurs passagers jouiront de tous privilèges et ne seront assujettis à aucun droit ni aucune charge autre ou plus élevés que ceux auxquels leurs correspondants et leurs propres

ARTICLE 23

En tout ce qui concerne le placement, chargement, déchargement des vaisseaux dans les ports, docks, rades et havres des territoires de l'autre partie contractante, tous les privilèges ou facilités accordés par l'une des parties aux vaisseaux nationaux seront également accordés aux vaisseaux de l'autre partie, quelle que soit leur provenance, destination ou leur situation.

ARTICLE 24

En ce qui concerne les droits de tonnage, de port, de pilotage, de phare, de quarantaine ou autres droits ou charges analogues, de quelle dénomination que ce soit, perçus au nom ou au profit du Gouvernement, des fonctionnaires publics, des particuliers, des corporations ou établissements quelconques, les vaisseaux de chacune des hautes parties contractantes jouiront dans les ports des territoires de l'autre d'un traitement égal à celui accordé aux vaisseaux nationaux.

Les droits et charges perçus à l'usage des ports maritimes seront conformes aux tarifs en vigueur au moment où les vaisseaux entrent dans le port. Dans chaque port maritime la capitainerie du port tiendra à la disposition des intéressés un barème des droits et charges en vigueur, ainsi qu'une copie du statut et des règlements.

ARTICLE 25

Les dispositions de ce traité relatives à la concession réciproque du traitement national en matière de navigation ne s'étendent pas:

1. Au cabotage, lequel continue à être régi par les lois qui sont ou seront en vigueur dans les territoires de chacune des hautes parties contractantes.

   Toutefois, les navires turcs et britanniques pourront passer d'un port ou rade de l'une des parties dans un ou plusieurs ports des territoires de l'autre partie, soit pour y débarquer la totalité ou une partie de leur cargaison ou de leurs passagers venant de l'étranger, soit pour y composer ou compléter leur chargement ou embarquer des passagers pour destination étrangère;
2. Aux arrangements sous forme de primes accordés ou qui pourraient être accordés à la marine marchande nationale;
3. A l'exercice de la pêche dans les eaux territoriales des hautes parties contractantes, ni à l'exercice du service maritime des ports, rades et côtes plages.

   Le service maritime comprend l'exercice du remorquage et du pilotage, l'assistance et le sauvetage maritimes, en tant que ces opérations s'effectuent dans les limites des eaux territoriales et dans la mer de Marmara.

Il est entendu que les matières dérogatoires qui resteraient en dehors des énumérations ci-dessus seront régies par le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

ARTICLE 26

Les vaisseaux de l'une ou l'autre des hautes parties contractantes qui seraient forcés par la violence du temps, ou par un sinistre, de se réfugier dans un port des territoires de l'autre, auront la liberté de s'y radouber, de se procurer toutes les provisions nécessaires et de reprendre la mer, sans acquitter aucun droit autre que ceux dont serait redevable en pareille circonstance un vaisseau national. Au cas, cependant où le capitaine d'un vaisseau marchand se trouverait obligé à vendre une partie de ses marchandises afin de couvrir ses frais, il sera tenu de se conformer aux règlements et tarifs de l'endroit.

Si un vaisseau de l'une des hautes parties contractantes échoue ou fait naufrage sur les côtes des territoires de l'autre, le vaisseau et toutes ses parties, tout son ameublement et ses appartenances, et toutes les marchandises qui en auront été sauvetées, y compris celles qui auront pu être jetées à la mer ou éventuellement le produit de leur vente, ainsi que tous documents trouvés à bord du vaisseau échoué ou naufragé, seront remis aux propriétaires du vaisseau, de ses marchandises, &c., ou à leurs agents lorsque ceux-ci les réclameront. Si ni les propriétaires ni leurs agents ne sont présents sur les lieux, le vaisseau, les marchandises, &c., en question seront remis en tout cas qu'ils appartiennent à un citoyen ou sujet ou société de l'autre haute partie contractante, à l'officier consulaire de cette partie dont la circonscription comprend le lieu du sinistre, à condition qu'il les réclame dans le délai fixé par les lois de l'autre haute partie contractante. L'officier consulaire, les propriétaires ou leurs agents ne seront tenus de payer aucuns frais autres que ceux entraînés par la conservation des biens, ainsi que les frais de sauvetage ou autres qu'ils auront dû payer au vaisseau national échoué ou naufragé en pareilles circonstances.

Les hautes parties contractantes sont convenues, cependant, que la marchandise sauvetée ne sera assujettie au paiement d'aucun droit de douane à moins d'être dédouanée pour la consommation intérieure.

Lorsqu'un vaisseau est échoué à se réfugier de la violence du temps, ou qu'il échoue ou fait naufrage, l'officier consulaire compétent aura le droit, si le propriétaire ou le capitaine ou tout autre agent du propriétaire n'est pas présent ou tout en étant présent l'exige, d'intervenir afin de venir en aide à ses compatriotes.

ARTICLE 27

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes aura la liberté de nommer des consuls généraux, consuls et vice-consuls qui pourront résider dans les villes et ports des territoires de l'autre partie où les Gouvernements respectifs admettent de pareils représentants d'une autre nation quelconque. Ces consuls généraux, consuls et vice-consuls ne seront pas cependant, en fonction avant d'avoir obtenu sur la liste présentée à cet effet par le Gouvernement auprès duquel ils sont envoyés.

Les officiers consulaires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes jouiront dans les territoires de l'autre partie des mêmes droits, privilèges et exemptions, à condition de réciprocité, que ceux qui sont ou seront accordés aux officiers consulaires similaires d'un autre pays étranger quelconque.

ARTICLE 28

Au cas du décès d'un citoyen ou sujet de l'une des hautes parties contractantes dans les territoires de l'autre, qui lui serait des parents, sans toutefois qu'il y ait sur le lieu du décès aucune personne autorisée par les lois du pays du défunt à se charger de sa succession et à l'administrer, l'officier consulaire compétent du pays dont le défunt était ressortissant sera autorisé, après avoir accompli les formalités nécessaires, à prendre en charge la succession et à l'administrer de la manière et dans les limites prescrites par la loi du pays où se trouvent les biens du défunt.

Il est entendu qu'en tout ce qui concerne l'administration de la succession des défunts, tous les droits, privilèges, faveurs ou immunités que l'une des hautes parties contractantes a déjà accordés ou accordera ultérieurement aux officiers consulaires d'un autre pays étranger quelconque, seront étendus immédiatement et à coup sûr de réciprocité aux officiers consulaires de l'autre haute partie contractante.

ARTICLE 29

Les officiers consulaires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes résidant dans les territoires de l'autre recevront des autorités locales l'assistance permise par la loi pour la reprise des marins, autres que les nationaux de celle-ci, déserteurs des vaisseaux de la première partie.

ARTICLE 30

Les citoyens ou sujets ou sociétés de chacune des hautes parties contractantes auront dans les territoires de l'autre les mêmes droits que les citoyens ou sujets ou sociétés de celle-ci en ce qui concerne les brevets d'invention, les marques de fabrique ou de commerce, et les noms commerciaux, à condition d'observer les formalités prescrites par la loi.

ARTICLE 31.

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes s'engage à assurer, en vertu de sa législation actuelle ou future, aux citoyens ou sujets de l'autre des recours civils, et en cas de fraude des recours pénaux, appropriés, à l'égard de l'utilisation de mots, devises ou descriptions, ou autres indications, déclarant ou suggérant d'une façon manifeste que les marchandises auxquelles ils se rapportent ont été produites ou fabriquées dans les territoires de l'autre partie, si cette déclaration ou suggestion est fausse. Dans ces cas lesdits recours pourront être exercés par ou au nom des personnes, sociétés ou associations intéressées conformément à la législation du pays le permet.

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes s'engage à interdire, en vertu de sa législation actuelle ou future, l'importation dans ses territoires, et de pourvoir à des mesures visant à la saisie à l'importation, de marchandises portant des marques, descriptions ou autres indications déclarant ou suggérant d'une façon manifeste que les marchandises ont été produites ou fabriquées dans les territoires de l'autre partie, si cette déclaration ou suggestion est fausse.

Il est entendu que les dispositions de cet article n'imposent aucune obligation à l'égard des marchandises en transit.

En ce qui concerne les marchandises importées aux territoires de l'une des hautes parties contractantes auxquelles une marque, description ou indication aura été appliquée, les autorités compétentes de celle-ci décideront quels sont les cas dans lesquels il y a lieu de faire application, dans le cadre des dispositions de cet article.

ARTICLE 32

Chacune des hautes parties contractantes pourra exiger, pour établir le pays d'origine, des certificats d'origine, attestant, s'il s'agit d'un produit naturel, qu'il est originaire des territoires de l'autre partie, et, s'il s'agit d'un produit manufacturé, que la plus grande partie de sa valeur est représentée par la valeur des matériaux originaires des territoires de l'autre partie ou par le coût de la transformation effectuée dans lesdits territoires. Les certificats d'origine établis selon le modèle annexé au présent traité seront délivrés par la Chambre de Commerce et de Industrie dont relève l'expéditeur, sauf dans les cas où des dispositions spéciales en auront autrement disposé. Chaque groupement que le pays destinataire jugera.

Le Gouvernement du pays destinataire pourra exiger la légalisation de ces certificats par son représentant diplomatique ou consulaire.

Les colis postaux seront dispensés du certificat d'origine si le pays destinataire ne [illegible] pour ce pays un régime commercial et dont la valeur totale [illegible] 50 francs or. Toutefois, les importations en Turquie, [illegible] une somme correspondante, en ce qui concerne les importations dans les territoires britanniques auxquels s'applique le présent traité.

ARTICLE 33

Les citoyens ou sujets de l'une des hautes parties contractantes se rendant aux [illegible] établis à l'effet d'y exercer leur commerce ne seront pas traités, sur les territoires de l'autre, d'une manière moins favorable que les nationaux, en tant qu'ils pourront présenter une carte d'identité établie d'après le modèle annexé au présent traité délivrée par les autorités du pays dont ils sont citoyens ou sujets.

Les dispositions de l'alinéa premier n'étant pas applicables aux industriels ambulants, ni au colportage et à la recherche des commandes chez des personnes qui n'exercent ni industrie ni commerce, chacune des hautes parties contractantes se réserve à cet égard l'entière liberté de sa législation.

ARTICLE 34

Le traitement sur le pied d'égalité avec un tiers pays ne sera pas applicable

1. Aux privilèges accordés ou qui pourraient être accordés ultérieurement par l'une des hautes parties contractantes dans le trafic frontalier avec les pays limitrophes dans une zone s'étendant à 15 kilom. des deux côtés de la frontière;
2. Aux faveurs spéciales résultant d'une union douanière;
3. Aux avantages et faveurs spéciaux existant ou à établir dans l'avenir, en matière de trafic douanier, entre la Turquie et les pays qui se sont détachés de l'Empire ottoman en 1923.

ARTICLE 35

Les différends qui viendraient à s'élever entre les deux hautes parties contractantes sur l'interprétation du présent traité et qui n'auraient pu être résolus par la voie diplomatique seront soumis d'un commun accord par voie de compromis à un arbitrage.

ARTICLE 36

Les hautes parties contractantes reconnaissent que la Convention d'Etablissement signée à Lausanne le 24 juillet 1923 et devant expirer le 6 août 1931, cessera de produire ses effets en ce qui concerne leurs rapports réciproques à partir du jour de l'entrée en vigueur du présent traité.

ARTICLE 37

Sa Majesté britannique pourra notifier par la voie de son représentant en Turquie son désir que les dispositions du présent traité soient appliquées à n'importe quelle colonie ou protectorat britannique ou à n'importe quel territoire administré sous mandat par son Gouvernement dans le Royaume-Uni de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Irlande du Nord. A partir de la date d'une telle notification, le traité entrera en vigueur entre la Turquie et le territoire en question.

Pour ce qui concerne tout territoire auquel les dispositions du présent traité auraient été rendues applicables en vertu de cet article, l'une ou l'autre des hautes parties contractantes aura le droit de faire cesser l'application desdites dispositions douze mois après avoir donné un avis à cet effet.

ARTICLE 38

Sa Majesté britannique pourra notifier par la voie de son représentant en Turquie son adhésion au présent traité au nom de n'importe quel dominion autonome de Sa Majesté ou des Indes.

Après l'expiration d'une période de quatre ans à partir de l'entrée en vigueur du présent traité, l'une ou l'autre des hautes parties contractantes pourra, en prévenant l'autre douze mois à l'avance, faire cesser l'application du traité à n'importe quel territoire au nom duquel Sa Majesté aura notifié son adhésion en vertu de l'alinéa premier de cet article.

Toute notification faite en vertu de l'alinéa premier de cet article pourra comprendre toute dépendance ou tout territoire administré sous mandat par le Gouvernement du territoire au nom duquel Sa Majesté aura notifié son adhésion et toute dénonciation faite en vertu de l'alinéa 2 pourra également s'appliquer à toute dépendance ou tout territoire mandaté compris dans la notification d'adhésion.

ARTICLE 39

Le présent traité sera ratifié et les ratifications seront échangées à Angora dans le plus court délai possible. Il entrera en vigueur le jour de l'échange des ratifications et restera en vigueur pendant une durée de cinq ans à partir de la date de son entrée en vigueur.

Au cas où ni l'une ni l'autre des hautes parties contractantes n'aurait prévenu l'autre douze mois avant l'expiration de ladite période de cinq ans de son intention de mettre fin au traité, il restera en vigueur jusqu'à l'expiration d'un délai d'un an à partir d'un avis à cet effet.

A moins qu'un tel avis ne l'indique expressément, il ne portera pas sur la validité du traité entre la Turquie et un territoire dont l'adhésion aura été notifiée en vertu de l'article 38.

Annexe à l'Article 32

Modèle

CERTIFICAT D'ORIGINE

Expéditeur

Nom .....
Pointe de .....
Rue .....

Destinataire

Nom .....
Pointe de .....
Rue .....

Nombre des colis.	Mode d'emballage.	Marques et Numéros	Poids, brut et net (en kilogrammes).	Voies d'expédition (chemins de fer, poste, bateaux).	Observations.

Il est certifié que les marchandises désignées ci-dessus sont d'origine ..... (Observations à faire au sujet de l'origine.)

(Signature)

Annexe à l'Article 33

Modèle

CARTE DE LÉGITIMATION

Pour des visiteurs de foires ou marchés.

Il est certifié que M. ....., porteur de la présente carte, désirant se rendre avec ses marchandises aux foires et marchés (pour les ressortissants turcs, dans le Royaume-Uni; pour les ressortissants britanniques, en Turquie) est domicilié à ..... et qu'il est tenu d'acquitter les taxes et impôts légaux pour l'exercice de son commerce ou industrie.

Le présent certificat est valable pour un délai de ..... mois.

(Lieu, date, signature, sceau de l'autorité qui a établi le certificat.)

Protocole final

Au moment de procéder à la signature du Traité turco-britannique de Commerce et de Navigation, les plénipotentiaires des hautes parties contractantes sont tombés d'accord sur les points suivants:

1. Il est entendu que, partout là où le présent traité stipule le traitement national, celui-ci implique le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée, l'intention des hautes parties contractantes étant évidemment que le traitement national dans les pays respectifs est au moins égal ou supérieur au traitement de la nation la plus favorisée.

2. Ad *Article* 12.—Il est entendu que l'expression "réquisitions civiles" couvre également les expropriations pour raison d'utilité publique.

3. Ad *Article* 13.—Il est entendu que les sociétés étrangères ne peuvent pas rencontrer leurs opérations principales visées par leurs statuts sur le territoire de la Turquie sans avoir demandé et acquis la nationalité turque.

4. Ad *Article* 14.—Il est entendu que, dans l'application de cet article, il ne sera pas tenu compte des appellations régionales, c'est-à-dire que ni l'une ni l'autre des hautes parties contractantes n'appliquera aux marchandises produites ou fabriquées dans les territoires de l'autre, en vertu d'une classification douanière basée sur le lieu de production ou de fabrication, des droits ou charges autres ou plus élevés que ceux acquittés par les marchandises similaires produites ou fabriquées dans un autre pays étranger quelconque.

5. Ad *Article* 18.—Le Gouvernement de la République turque réserve au nom de la Turquie le droit de majorer les droits d'entrée ou d'appliquer toutes mesures appropriées à l'importation en Turquie des produits britanniques qui seront favorisés par des primes, des subventions ou de toute autre façon, soit ouvertement, soit clandestinement.

Au nom des territoires britanniques auxquels s'applique ou s'appliquera le présent traité, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique réserve le droit, pour le cas où des majorations ou autres mesures susmentionnées seraient appliquées en vertu de la susdite réserve, à l'importation en Turquie de produits britanniques, d'appliquer le même principe à l'importation dans ces territoires des produits turcs ainsi favorisés, s'il en existe.

6. Ad *Article* 20.—Il est entendu que, au cas où le Gouvernement de la République turque promulguerait une législation relativement à la matière traitée au paragraphe 1, alinéa (*a*), de la Convention turco-britannique sur les Échantillons de Commerce, les dispositions de cette législation seront appliquées en lieu et place de la procédure prévue audit alinéa.

7. Ad *Articles* 27 *et* 28.—Il est entendu que ni l'une ni l'autre des hautes parties contractantes ne pourra invoquer le bénéfice résultant de la clause de la nation la plus favorisée énoncée dans ces articles pour réclamer en faveur de ses officiers consulaires des droits autres ou plus étendus que ceux accordés par elle-même aux officiers consulaires de l'autre partie.

8. Il est entendu que, le présent traité ayant été fait en turc et en anglais, les deux textes ont la même valeur et feront également foi.

Son Excellence Sir G. Clerk à son Excellence Zekai Bey

M. l'Ambassadeur,

En me référant aux clauses du Traité de Commerce et de Navigation signé entre nous ce jour, j'ai l'honneur de prier votre Excellence de bien vouloir me faire savoir si le Gouvernement turc sera disposé à examiner avec bienveillance toute proposition qui lui sera adressée par mon entremise, tendant à faire accorder, à condition de réciprocité, le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée aux articles produits ou fabriqués dans n'importe lequel des territoires mentionnés à l'article 37 du traité auquel celui-ci ne s'appliquerait pas.

Son Excellence Zekai Beg à son Excellence Sir G. Clerk

M. l'Ambassadeur,

En me référant aux clauses du Traité de Commerce et de Navigation signé entre nous ce jour, j'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence en réponse à sa lettre d'aujourd'hui, que le Gouvernement turc examinera avec bienveillance toute proposition qui lui sera adressée par votre entremise tendant à faire accorder, à condition de réciprocité, le traitement de la nation la plus favorisée aux articles produits ou fabriqués dans n'importe lequel des territoires mentionnés à l'article 37 du traité auquel celui-ci ne s'appliquerait pas.

Son Excellence Zekai Beg à son Excellence Sir G. Clerk

M. l'Ambassadeur,

En me référant aux clauses du Traité de Commerce et de Navigation signé entre nous en date de ce jour, j'ai l'honneur de prier votre Excellence de bien vouloir me donner des éclaircissements sur la portée du deuxième paragraphe de l'alinéa 3 de l'article 16 du traité. Je serais heureux d'apprendre que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique est inspiré dans cette matière par des considérations d'ordre général et qu'il ne vise pas à un traitement différentiel à l'égard de la Turquie en ce qui concerne la restriction éventuelle de l'exportation des armes, munitions, instruments de guerre et exceptionnellement de toutes autres fournitures militaires.

Ambassade de Sa Majesté britannique en Turquie, Angora

M. l'Ambassadeur,

En me référant aux clauses du Traité de Commerce et de Navigation signé entre nous ce jour, je m'empresse de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence la liste ci-jointe des Colonies et Protectorats britanniques, ainsi que des territoires administrés sous mandat par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique dans le Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Irlande du Nord qui pourront profiter des dispositions de l'article 38 du traité.

Je me réserve de notifier ultérieurement au Gouvernement de la République turque les modifications éventuelles qu'il pourrait y avoir lieu d'apporter à cette liste.

(La liste devra mentionner l'Irak, la Palestine et la Transjordanie.)

Procès-verbal de la Séance tenue au Ministère des Affaires étrangères à Angora, le 1929 *par les Délégations turque et britannique pour signer le Traité turco-britannique de Commerce et de Navigation*

Les plénipotentiaires des deux hautes parties contractantes ont constaté :

(1) Que l'expression "biens, droits et intérêts," mentionnée aux articles 6 et 13 du traité, couvre, entre autres, les habitations, entrepôts, fabriques, magasins, bureaux et autres locaux ;

(2) Qu'il ne s'agirait pas de cabotage, dans le sens de l'article 25 du traité, au cas où un voyageur ou une cargaison, muni de billet ou de connaissement direct entre un port des territoires de l'une des parties et un port étranger, se transborderait dans un autre port intermédiaire des territoires de la même partie ;

(3) Que tous les cas qui ressortent du domaine de la souveraineté ou de la compétence exclusive de l'État, conformément aux usages du droit international, ne sauraient faire l'objet d'un arbitrage.

Enclosure 2 in No. 7

Procès-verbal provisoire

Ayant paraphé le texte français du Traité anglo-turc de Commerce et de Navigation, afin de le soumettre à leurs Gouvernements, les délégations britannique et turque sont convenues que

Au sujet de l'article 13

La délégation turque ne peut accepter [illegible] qu'il y aurait à faire des [illegible] pour permettre à la délégation britannique de permettre [illegible] de satisfaire [illegible] avec [illegible] article 16 devra être contrôlée par les ressortissants [illegible] résidant en dehors des territoires [illegible].

Au Procès-verbal

2. La délégation turque fait une réserve expresse en ce qui concerne l'alinéa 2, qui, dans son texte actuel, n'est pas conforme aux instructions qu'elle a reçues de son Gouvernement.

GEORGE R. CLERK.
ZEKAI.

Le 2 juillet 1929

Enclosure 3 in No. 7

Memorandum

Preamble.—No change except that at the wish of the Turkish delegation the words "Son Excellence" have been introduced before "le Président de la République turque."

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Article 1.—The Turkish delegation having ultimately decided not to specify the Turkish territories to which the treaty applies, the words "des hautes parties contractantes" have been omitted.

Foreign Office telegram No. 15 (to Angora) of 12th June.

Art. 2.—The text of this article was agreed upon at an early stage of the negotiations, the words "personnes jouissant de sa protection" in the first paragraph being replaced by "ressortissants des territoires jouissant de sa protection" [illegible] this latter phrase being explained [illegible] as covering the categories specified in Consular Instructions, chapter XXII, paragraph 10. An exception was [illegible] in respect of Iraq, [illegible] Transjordan [illegible] as the former have their own [illegible] representation [illegible] the two latter are to be covered [illegible] separate agreement. At the last moment, however, [illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

[illegible]

[illegible] Great Britain [illegible] commercial treaties [illegible] alternative [illegible] to accept [illegible] the British delegation were eventually able to overcome their scruples. The first point having been thus disposed of, the Turkish delegation still felt great difficulty over the retention of the first paragraph of the present article with its specific stipulation in favour of protected persons, which they pointed out did not occur in any of the commercial treaties recently concluded by Great Britain to which they had had access. The British delegation replied that, while, owing to the late stage at which this difficulty had arisen, they could not speak on the point with authority, they presumed that the omission of the provision from the other treaties was due to the fact that it only served to make clear a point which His Majesty's Government would maintain, whether the provision were explicitly made or not, viz., that British protected persons were covered by the term British subjects for the purposes of commercial treaties. The Turkish delegation fully agreed that this would in practice be so, and therefore, in view of the omission of the provision from other treaties, the British delegation agreed to drop the first paragraph of the article, subject of course to the approval of His Majesty's Government being given when the draft [illegible] The corresponding item in the draft protocol naturally [illegible] dropped in consequence.

[illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Art. 3.—No [illegible]

Art. 4.—In the second paragraph, after the word "accès" (the first time it occurs), have been added the words "en se conformant aux lois et règlements du pays." After the words "dont l'accès est ou sera ouvert aux sujets ou citoyens de l'autre" the following clause has been added: "à l'exception toutefois des zones dont l'accès serait interdit aux étrangers sans distinction de nationalité pour des motifs de sécurité ou d'ordre stratégique."

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Foreign Office telegram No. 15 (to Angora) of 12th June.

Art. 5.—In the first paragraph the words "conditions et règlements" have been replaced by "lois, règlements et ordonnances."

The second and third paragraphs, though superfluous, have been inserted at the instant desire of the Turkish delegation, who are anxious to avoid all possibility of misunderstanding on these points. The third paragraph has been slightly modified from the Turkish draft in order to make it clear that it only applies to individuals, and could not be invoked to [illegible] against the subjects or citizens of one of the [illegible] parties [illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Art. 6.—[illegible] draft has been accepted [illegible]

[illegible]

Art. 7.—[illegible] British draft [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] inserted [illegible] provisions from article 9.

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Art. 8.—This provision, though [illegible] superfluous, has been inserted at the wish of the Turkish delegation [illegible] for their desire to make this point absolutely clear [illegible] treatment being [illegible] in respect of [illegible] rights of certain individuals [illegible] persons who [illegible] The placing of this provision [illegible] the Board of Trade.

Art. 9.—This article corresponds to article 7 of the original British draft. The words "conditions [illegible]" have been inserted [illegible] and the words "l'exercice de" before "leur commerce, industrie, profession [illegible]" The [illegible] stipulation of most-favoured-nation treatment [illegible] This question is covered by paragraph 1 of the additional protocol.

Foreign Office telegram No. 53 (to Constantinople) of 12th June.

The second paragraph has been added at the wish of the Turkish delegation in order to exclude any possibility of misconstruction on the point involved.

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Art. 10.—This article represents article 9 of the original British draft. At the end of the first paragraph the words "of most-favoured-nation [illegible]" [illegible] At the beginning [illegible] the words [illegible] have been added.

Foreign Office telegram No. 53 (to Constantinople) of 12th June.

Art. 11.—The first paragraph of this article is identical with the [illegible] paragraph of article 10 of the original British draft. The second paragraph has been inserted at the wish of the Turkish delegation.

Foreign Office telegram No. 5 (to Constantinople) of [illegible] June.

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Art. 12. This article corresponds to article 11 of the original British draft [illegible] the first paragraph after the word "exempts" has been added [illegible] temps de paix [illegible] temps de guerre." At the end of the first sentence the words "autres que celles prévues par les lois relatives aux [illegible]" have been replaced by "sous réserve des exceptions spéciales prévues par les lois respectives." [illegible] the Turkish delegation pointed out that it was essential to adopt a wording which would also cover the duties of [illegible] commission d'expertise," &c.

The last two sentences of the original British draft [illegible] effect of which [illegible] treatment in respect of [illegible] requisitions [illegible] the most favoured [illegible] treatment in respect of [illegible] [illegible] replaced in order to [illegible] paragraph 2 of [illegible] the draft [illegible] requisitions [illegible] expropriations.

[illegible] this article represents [illegible] British draft. The text [illegible] Turkish [illegible] [illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 457 of 24th June.

[illegible]

[illegible] foreign capital from establishing itself in Turkey and, therefore the Turkish delegation strongly pressed that no exception should be made in favour of such concessionary companies, who should be allowed the privilege of proportionate taxation [illegible] without the necessity of complying with the condition that they should be controlled by Turkish citizens not resident in the United Kingdom. The British delegation [illegible] to recommend [illegible] to His Majesty's Government. It [illegible] pointed out that it would be impossible to give effect to the suggestion [illegible] British company law [illegible] control would be [illegible] British [illegible] by the [illegible] of the paragraph.

[illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 54 [illegible]

[illegible]

Foreign Office telegram No. 55 [illegible]

[illegible]

Art. 17. [illegible] corresponds to article 17 of the original British draft [illegible] Convention of 1927 [illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 358 [illegible]

[illegible]

Art. 19. [illegible]

Foreign Office [illegible]

[illegible]

Anglo-Turkish Travellers' Samples Convention has been inserted in the final protocol, as paragraph 6, in order to enable the Turkish delegation to agree to the duration of the convention being made identical with that of the commercial treaty. The Turkish delegation pointed out that, at the time of the negotiation of the convention, it had been necessary to stipulate in its text the nature of the documents by which samples would be accompanied on importation into Turkey, as there were as yet no regulations on the point in existence in that country. The point had, however, been criticised when the convention was before the Assembly, and, if its duration were to be prolonged, it would be desirable to provide that, in the event of detailed Turkish regulations being subsequently introduced, they should become applicable on this point, thus placing Turkey in this respect on the same footing as Great Britain.

Foreign Office despatch No. 38 of 3rd June

Art. 21. In the third paragraph, after the word 'surveillance' has been added "de statistique." In the penultimate paragraph the words "soit pour des raisons d'hygiène ou de sécurité publique, soit à titre de précaution contre les maladies des animaux ou des plantes," have been replaced by "en vertu des dispositions de l'article 16," and in this manner the objectionable Turkish insertion of "intérêt public" has been eliminated.

Foreign Office telegram No. 53 (to Constantinople) of 20th June

Art. 22. The stipulation of concurrent most favoured nation treatment has been omitted, that of national treatment alone being retained.

Foreign Office telegram No. 53 to Constantinople of 20th June

Art. 23. The stipulation of concurrent most favoured nation treatment has been omitted, that of national treatment alone being retained. The article has been slightly reworded, so as to give it a positive instead of a negative form.

Foreign Office telegram No. 53 to Constantinople of 20th June

Art. 24. The stipulation of concurrent most favoured nation treatment has been omitted, that of national treatment alone being retained. At the close of the first paragraph, the words "égal à" have been substituted for "au moins aussi favorable que," in view of Turkish susceptibilities on this point.

Foreign Office despatch No. 38 of 3rd June

Art. 25. The draft of this article is based on the Turkish counter-draft, in which, however, certain modifications have been inserted. The scope of sub-head 2 has been limited by the insertion of the words "sous forme de primes" after "encouragements." The original Turkish sub-head 3, dealing with yachting clubs and pleasure vessels, has been omitted. Words have been added to the present sub-head 3 to make it clear that towage, salvage, &c., are reserved to the national flag only in so far as they are carried out in territorial waters or in the Sea of Marmora.

The last sentence of the original British draft was objected to by the first to the Turkish delegation, who professed themselves unable to perceive its meaning. When this was explained they declared that the case in question did not come within the scope of "cabotage" and that it was therefore superfluous to insert any provision of the kind. They, however, at length agreed to insert in the final *procès-verbal* a paragraph making it clear that the case in question was not considered as "cabotage," and the British delegation undertook to try and work out a simpler wording to describe it. This new British draft will be found as item 2 of the draft final *procès-verbal*. It had already been accepted by the Turkish delegation, when, at the last moment, the latter, on instructions from the Ministry of National Economy, wished to restrict it to cases of coming or going in ballast. With the object of getting out on that both the ships involved must fly the same national flag. The British delegation pointed out that this restriction virtually destroyed the effect of the provision. It was then agreed that their instructions that no such restrictive interpretation was contemplated in London, but, as the difficulty had not been raised till the last moment, they were unable to say how much importance was attached to the point by the Board of Trade. They therefore suggested that the words should be provisionally allowed to remain as they stood *ad referendum* to the two Governments, to which the Turkish delegation agreed, covering themselves by the declaration included as item 2 in the *procès-verbal* of the meeting held to initial the treaty. The British delegation observed that, if the proposed restrictive interpretation

(I have confirmed that the conditions must be fulfilled concurrently, and that the Turkish delegation read our draft in the sense which I give to it.)

was demanded by anything in the Turkish "cabotage" law, there would presumably be no alternative but to accept it, but if, on the other hand, as seemed to be the case, it rested merely on a departmental interpretation, His Majesty's Government would probably ask the Turkish Government to agree to abandon this interpretation and to accept the situation envisaged by the British draft.

The Turkish delegation undertook to settle administratively the question of access of ships' agents to British ships to perform their functions, before the signature of the treaty, and no provision covering this point is therefore to be included.

Art. 26. Unchanged.

Art. 27. "Agents consulaires" has been omitted, and a slightly [illegible] has been adopted as regards the necessity of obtaining the approval of the Government of the country to consular appointments. In the second paragraph, "consulaires" has been altered to "officiers et officiels" has been omitted after exemptions.

Foreign Office despatch No. 51 (to Constantinople) of 26th June

Art. 28. In the second paragraph the condition of reciprocity has been included, and the protocol contains, as paragraph 7, an interpretation of reciprocity as it is to be understood in this and the preceding article.

Art. 29. Unchanged.

Art. 30. [illegible] to include all mention of [illegible] works. The Turkish delegation [illegible] their Government that [illegible]

Foreign Office despatch No. 51 (to Constantinople) of 26th June

Foreign Office despatch No. 418 [illegible]

Art. 31. [illegible] have great difficulty. Turkey having accepted in [illegible] delegation undertaken in article 14 of the Lausanne Commercial Convention, to the International Convention of Paris, revised at Washington, for the protection of industrial property, has not yet completed the preparation of the legislation required to bring her into line [illegible] the convention.

Foreign Office telegram No. 47 (to Angora) of 26th June

The Turkish delegation maintained that all that Turkey could be present bind herself to do was to afford such facilities and [illegible] as her existing legislation provides for, while on the other hand she objected to being called upon to renew in a bilateral treaty the [illegible] unconditionally assumed to introduce the requisite legislation shortly. They therefore proposed to qualify the undertakings with which the first and second paragraphs of the original British draft open by the insertion of the words "dans les limites de sa législation actuelle" and it was only with the utmost difficulty that they were prevailed upon to agree to accept instead the expression "en vertu de sa législation actuelle ou future," which appears in the final draft. Another modification is that of the last sentence of the first paragraph, the wording adopted is the utmost concession that the Turkish delegation could be prevailed upon to make, and in view of the second paragraph of article 10 of the Washington revision of the Paris Convention it did not seem practicable to insist on any more binding undertaking.

Omission.—Article 32 of the original British draft has been omitted. The Turkish delegation have undertaken to study the international conventions named under sub-heads 2 and 3, and, if they should prove to contain nothing which Turkey cannot accept, to furnish, concurrently with the signature of the treaty, a declaration that the Turkish Government will recommend to the Assembly that Turkey should adhere to them.

Foreign Office telegram No. 30 (to Angora) of 26th June

Constantinople telegram No. 48A (to Foreign Office) of 20th June

Art. 2. This article has been inserted at the request of the Turkish [illegible]. It corresponds to article 7 of the Lausanne Commercial Convention, the only substantial modification being the insertion of the condition that certificates of origin in respect of manufactured articles must attest that at least 50 per cent. of the value is represented by the value of materials originating in the exporting country and by the cost of transformation. This provision as also that providing for legalisation of certificates of origin by a diplomatic or consular authority, is not contained in some of the commercial treaties recently concluded by Turkey, *e.g.*, in that with Germany, as, however, they represent what are, in fact, the requirements of the Turkish authorities in respect of consignments from all countries, it seemed to the British delegation actually preferable that

[E 3532/189/44] No. 8

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. (*Received July 15.*)

(No. 296)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 8, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Ministry of National Defence have placed an order for anti-aircraft guns with Messrs. Vickers.

2. The aforesaid order, to the value of £350,000, is one of the largest obtained by Messrs. Vickers of recent years in Turkey.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3534/474/44 No. 9

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received July 15.*)

(No. 299)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 9, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your herewith a copy of an article in which the semi-official 'Milliett' of the 6th instant takes the 'Pravda' to task for its recent unfriendly remarks about Turkey.* The article is interesting since it is written in a sharp tone, the like of which Angora has never yet adopted towards Moscow. It looks almost as if Angora feeling the resumption of Anglo-Russian relations to be likely, found itself able to treat Moscow with greater independence.

2. The "Milliett," as will be seen, takes exception to the suggestion of the 'Pravda' that communism is spreading in Turkey. It also resents another report of the "Pravda," to the effect that discontent in Turkey is growing under the burden of taxation and bad times. It bids the "Pravda" mind its own business, and by seeing that Russia agrees at the terms of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce and Friendship, from meddling in communism in Turkey. It concludes it draws a not unjust comparison between Russian and Turkish justice.

3. The inference may perhaps be drawn that Russo-Turkish relations are passing through an unhappy phase. For some weeks past there has been good deal of discontent in this country at the treatment accorded to Turkish citizens and goods in Russia. Turkish merchants are said to be materially injured in Russia, and Turkish goods—notably a cargo of hides—held up in the Russian ports, and ultimately refused admission as not being genuinely of Turkish origin. In the Turkish Deputies, who have received export licences for the Russian market, are interested in this trade, and at the end of May Yunus Nadi was allowed to hint in his journal "Jumhuriet" that there would be advantages in friendship with Great Britain rather than Russia, and to beg Russia rather to abrogate the Russo-Turkish Commercial Treaty than to risk her friendship with Turkey by continually violating the agreement. I suspect that my Soviet colleague is spending some of his leave in trying to smooth this difficulty over, and that it has something to do with the sudden return for a few days, of the Turkish Ambassador from Moscow.

4. The enclosed despatch from the acting British consul-general at Smyrna reports on the Communist trial now proceeding there.* It has been dragging on for months, the accused are alleged to have been active in Angora and Constantinople, as well as in Smyrna. It is probable that beneath the "communism" with which they are charged there is in many cases not much more than general discontent. For one reason why the "Milliett" is so incensed with the "Pravda" is that the latter is really right when it speaks of discontent. Even the Turk may be expected to grumble, when on the top of very bad times, although the limit of taxation was thought to have been reached he finds as has just happened that income tax has been put up 20 per cent. and house property tax 100 per cent. In any case the conspirators on trial at Smyrna hardly represent a serious movement. Their prosecution is undertaken both to nip any possible subversion in the bud and to

* Not printed.

they should be explicitly mentioned in the article. If, on the other hand, their inclusion is considered objectionable, it should be possible to secure their omission on the ground that they do not appear in various other Turkish treaties.

Art. 33. This article likewise has been inserted at the request of the Turkish delegation, it appears in all or the majority of the commercial treaties recently concluded by Turkey. It does not appear to contain any objectionable matter.

Foreign Office despatch No. 387 of 3rd June.

Art. 34. This article has been taken from the Turkish counter-draft, with the exception of a fourth sub-head dealing with imperial preference. Sub-heads 1 and 3 reproduce the substance of article 6 of the Lausanne Commercial Convention, sub-head 1 follows the lines of the similar provision in the exchange of letters annexed to the commercial treaty between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Government, and sub-head 2 reproduces a provision likewise contained in that exchange of letters.

Foreign Office telegram No. 28 (to Angora) of 21st June.

Art. 35. This article, as now proposed, is the French draft modified so as to create an unconditional obligation to submit to arbitration differences respecting the interpretation of the treaty, and omitting the provision allowing the denunciation of the treaty in the event of failure to reach an agreement on the terms of submission to arbitration.

A declaration has been inserted in the draft final *procès verbal* as above to the effect that arbitration is inapplicable in questions of sovereignty or in those which fall exclusively within the province of the State. The Turkish delegation admitted that such a declaration seemed superfluous, as arbitration was provided only for cases of disputed interpretation, but they begged for its insertion to ease the introduction of the formula adopted in the article.

Foreign Office telegram No. 29 (to Angora) of 22nd June.

Art. 36. This article has been inserted in consequence of the decision to terminate the applicability of the Lausanne Residence Convention as between the two parties, with effect from the entry into force of the commercial treaty.

Art. 37. At the moment of signing the treaty Sir G. Clerk said in compliance with the desire of the Turkish delegation, he would hand them a letter containing a list of the territories covering this article, and Palestine and Transjordania would however be omitted.

Art. 38. Unchanged except for the substitution at the beginning of the second paragraph of a reference to *four* years in pursuance of the change introduced under the next article.

Foreign Office telegram No. 25 (to Angora) of 20th June.

Omission. Article 36 of the original draft has been omitted, and in its place is provided an exchange of notes, based on the compromise formula proposed by the Turkish delegation, and rendered applicable to article 37 only.

Foreign Office telegram No. 53 (to Constantinople) of 20th June.

Art. 39. The Turkish delegation stated that they were unable to agree to a longer period than five years for the duration of the treaty, and this period was accepted.

Protocol. Paragraph 8 provides that the English and Turkish texts of the treaty shall be equally authoritative, the Turkish delegation having made it clear that Turkey could not accept any other arrangement.

discourage any others who might be inclined to let their discontent outrun their discretion. This has been the practice of the Angora Government in dealing with [illegible] and the present trial will probably result in light sentences.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3538/3538/44 No. 10.

Sir H. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 15.)

(No. 305.)

Constantinople, July 11, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a report which Mr. Helm has made upon his journey in Eastern Turkey, which was authorised in Consular Department's letter of the 6th May last.

2. As ever since the Kurdish rebellion of 1925 it has been impossible for foreigners to proceed east of the Euphrates, Mr. Helm's report is of unusual interest, and the fact that the Government granted him permission to make this journey is an indication of the esteem which he enjoys at Ang[illegible]. [illegible] Mr. Helm from carrying out his original intention of going [illegible] to Diarbekir, but I am inclined to agree with him that [illegible] Diarbekir-Malatia-Sivas-Kaisarieh although it lay through country [illegible] remote led to more valuable results than a tour through the extreme east of Turkey would have done.

3. Mr. Helm reports that the Kurdish movement, as the Turkish Government always maintains, no longer exists, the Kurdish chiefs having, in fact, been reduced to powerlessness. This achievement, although a negative one, is something which the Sultans never accomplished, for the Kurdish question was always with them. But now that it has reached the need for constructive measures, the Angora Government, as was to be expected, seems to be succeeding less well. Mr. Helm foresees the economic [illegible], that is, agricultural depression of Eastern Turkey, to be so great as to constitute a menace to the continuance of the Angora regime. What strikes travellers in most parts of Turkey struck Mr. Helm with particular force in the districts he visited, namely that, unless the Turkish Government is willing to seek foreign advice and assistance in order to improve the meagre crops at present produced by a sparse population, Turkey stands condemned.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 10.

Notes on a Journey from Angora to Aleppo, Diarbekir, Malatia, Sivas and the Black Sea Coast, June 9–29, 1929.

1. [illegible] reported covering as it did almost every [illegible] which in some respects [illegible] but which [illegible] to give experienced [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] which [illegible] by a [illegible] of the [illegible] as prevailing in [illegible] Turkey to-day.

2. My [illegible] was undertaken with the full knowledge and approval of the [illegible] Government which raised no objection to my visit to areas which [illegible] for [illegible] years has been forbidden to foreigners. If my tour in these areas was not so extensive as I had planned I am satisfied that the only upsetting factor was the weather, which had made all the Turkish roads very difficult and many of them quite impassable. This same factor, on the other hand, rather tended to present the country in a more favourable light than usual, as during May rain had fallen throughout Turkey in abnormally large quantities. It is therefore probable that crops and pastures were seen at their very best and roads experienced at their very worst. At every point I was well received by the Turkish authorities, whom, without exception, I found very helpful.

3. From Angora to Aleppo and thence to Mardin I travelled by train. As regards the Angora-Aleppo section the only feature worthy of note was the paucity of the crops. This was the area which suffered worst from the drought of 1928, and

its effects are only too evident. Turkish authorities themselves admit that on the plateau only about 25 per cent. of the normal area has this year been sown. Where sowing has been done crop prospects are good, but from Konia to Karaman, which normally is a rich grain area and which I saw well cultivated two years ago, the exception is to see fields under crop. My eyes confirmed the statement to me of a Deputy that entire villages had been deserted after the villagers had lost all their live-stock and realised that they themselves could only avoid starvation by migration to Konia and other towns. Exceptionally, at Eregli, there was considerable cultivation and good crops, thanks, I presume, to a fairly well developed system of irrigation, which, if resorted to elsewhere (and the possibility undoubtedly exists), would have done much to neutralise the effects of four successive dry seasons.

4. Darkness prevented my seeing anything of the Cilician plain, but on the [illegible] morning after we had entered Syria, I was much struck by the apparent fertility of the soil by the close cultivation and by the large number of people working in the fields. The French have an aerodrome beside Mosulmie Station, and both times I passed [illegible]

[illegible] the principal ones, [illegible] French have been very active in road construction and this is having as its immediate [illegible] development of the country. His Majesty's Consul does not share the [illegible] held by others that owing to the proximity of the Turkish frontier, Aleppo [illegible] days, steadily increasing. Its transit [illegible] developed considerably of late owing to the passage duty free of goods imported through Alexandretta for Eastern Turkey. This trade may, however, be temporary, and can be expected to disappear [illegible] Even now Mersina is a strong competitor of Alexandretta and [illegible] Turkish port is encouraged by the Turkish [illegible]. In present circumstances, however, this means longer and more [illegible] rail transport and, according to Turkish sources, to greater delays, as the French or Syrian authorities find excuses for holding up consignments forwarded by train through Aleppo to or from Mersina. Actually, the Turkish trade by way of [illegible] is more or less equally divided between Mersina and Alexandretta, the former [illegible] of the imports and the latter more of the exports.

5. According to His Majesty's Consul at Aleppo, the new Turkish steamship line is [illegible] much headway in the sea-borne trade of Alexandretta. Turkish propaganda is [illegible] taking this shape. Mr. Monck Mason-Moore's opinion is that there is no Italian [illegible] organisation in his district.

Nusaibin to Jerablus.

7. East of Yenije the railway, which from Ghoban Bey to Derbesiye (the junction for Mardin) constitutes the Turco-Syrian frontier, is in French hands, and although slow—the 411 kilom. from Aleppo to Mardin take eighteen hours—it seemed to be fairly well run. The rolling stock was clean and seemed to be in a satisfactory condition. Turks, on the other hand, complained that the French are neglecting the railway, taking all they can get and spending nothing, as they know that in due course it will have to be handed over to the Turkish Government. With the [illegible] of a sleeping-car service to Nisibin in the autumn, travellers may be [illegible], but the journey is not dull and tiring and not to be recommended.

8. Here Mesopotamia to Jerablus the soil is red and fertile in appearance, workers (mostly women) were numerous, but crops looked poor. At Ghoban Bey the railway re-enters Turkey. The customs officer was polite but his passport colleague was completely at sea with my visa in the new characters. After poring over my passport for some minutes and trying to read (upside down) some pages covered with everything but Turkish visas, he asked me to find him the place and to read what [illegible] wrote. The further inscription of my name on his list was laboriously [illegible] [illegible] minutes. Little progress here with the new characters at any rate, and that at a point where passport control must of necessity be very [illegible].

9. With the crossing of the Euphrates (by a strong steel bridge) at Jerablus, the fertile country is left behind, and as far as Arapunar (the station for Urfa, which is, I believe, the centre of an important grain-producing area) nothing is seen on the barren landscape but a few black Kurdish tents. At Arapunar, however, a rich fertile plain is entered and continues for perhaps 10 miles. The railway

passes through something resembling market gardens, with abundant water, in which I remarked large numbers of tomato plants. Here, also, there were many villages, all of mud, the houses dome-shaped, and in the distance resembling nothing so much as a well-filled stack-yard at home.

10. Soon afterwards it struck me, though it may have been mere fancy, that if anything, the Syrian side of the railway was the better cultivated and had more stock, particularly cattle, whereas I noticed sheep alone on the Turkish side. Then after Gultepe—which neither possesses a hill nor shows any sign of rose cultivation, though excellent water can be obtained from its wells—there is nothing but desolation. Not a sign of habitation or of vegetation, and hardly a living soul is to be seen. Only on the south side of the railway and some 3 or 4 metres removed from it, there are the apparently endless boundary stones, of which I remarked the 93[illegible]th as darkness fell somewhere west of Ras el-Ain.

11. But this very dull day's journey gives one food for thought. At every station, and occasionally between stations, Turkish guards were to be seen. French guards, except for an apparently strong post at Akchakale, were remarkable for their absence. That does not, however, mean that they do not exist. Tracks were to be remarked on both sides of the railway, and a Turkish officer confessed to me bitterly that whereas the one on the Syrian side was used [illegible] on this desert frontier!

12. And the frontier is far from an ideal one. East of Akchakale it does not seem to matter much as there is no evidence of inhabi[illegible] the frontier is quite unnatural. Villages less than 100 [illegible] sides of the railway, and whose inhabitants have the same [illegible] are in different countries. Moreover, the land all along the frontier is almost quite flat, so that the frontier would be quite indefensible in the event of trouble.

13. Nor, unfortunately, as I was to find out at Mardin and Diarbekr, is trouble lacking. Incidents are, in fact, of almost daily occurrence. Smuggling is rife—in a Diarbekr café I was offered a bottle of champagne for 5 shillings—and little success has attended Turkish efforts to deal [illegible] it. The population on both sides of the frontier is armed, tribal raids are frequent, and in many places there are blood feuds. Every Turk with whom I discussed the frontier, though admitting that there might be faults on both sides, spoke with extreme bitterness. Feeling is undoubtedly running high, and a sort of armed truce with all its latent dangers probably comes somewhere near to describing the existing situation on the Syrian frontier.

Mardin and the Iraq Frontier

14. From the station of Mardin the road climbs some 1,200 feet in 6 miles to the town, which is very picturesquely situated just under the crest of a conical hill of soft limestone, with the houses rising tier above tier. The hill is crowned by an old castle, which is believed to date from Roman times, and which, under the name of Kaleh Shubha, was considered impregnable by the Arabs. As my guide to the castle I had an old Kurd, who related with much gusto how, when the Believers took it, the Christian princess who was thrown from the battlements was carried to another mountain some miles distant, while all her followers perished by the sword or were thrown over the walls, a fitting fate, he said, smacking his lips, for all [illegible]. I felt relieved in the solitude and rapidly crumbling ruins to have my Turkish servant with me!

15. Mardin has a population of some 30,000, of whom 8,000 are Syrian [illegible] at Mardin, 200 Nestorians, 120 Protestants and [illegible] Armenian Catholics. There is [illegible] a large Christian population in Midiat. There is not a large Kurdish population, but Kurdish and Arabic are both spoken much more than Turkish. The town is clean, the houses are [illegible] far above the average in provincial Turkey. The whole position is commanding, for the town completely dominates the plain to the south. "The Chul" of earlier days, which was an important grain and cotton producing area, but of which the production now barely

suffices for local needs. Instead, the Chul is now the scene of foraging raids. From the hotel terrace at night the lights of a French post can be seen a few miles away, and I was told that further off to the south-east Nisibin is rapidly dying and being supplanted by a new Syrian town on the other side of the frontier. For the present Mardin is spared, as all the trade of south-east Turkey must pass through it to reach the railway, but it seems certain that when the new railway to Diarbekr is completed, Mardin must share the fate of Nisibin.

16. But, whatever its ultimate fate, the political importance of Mardin is at present great, for, apart from its trade, it is the advance post from which the Turks [illegible] the East Syrian and the Iraq frontiers. It is therefore hardly surprising that I found the Vali, Tevfik Hadi Bey, to be a Turk of the new school, young and energetic, and firmly convinced that the new Turkey is making good. So far as his vilayet is concerned, I found many superficial grounds for optimism. Order seems perfect, the inhabitants on the whole are clean, education is being fostered, roads are being [illegible]—wonder of wonders for Turkey—there are sign-posts [illegible] (these are few) on the main roads. But, as elsewhere east of the Euphrates, every person is stopped and asked for his papers as he enters or leaves the town, and the military control is easily recognised. With this control, however, I remarked that [illegible] the officers are very particular about their [illegible] in Mardin [illegible]

17. Like everyone else, Tevfik Hadi Bey spoke with much feeling but in a spirit [illegible] the Syrian frontier. He recognised that it was inevitable [illegible], but clearly did not regard it as a permanent solution. As regards the Iraq frontier, about which the Vali could speak with some authority (Appendix A*), he said that everything was now thoroughly satisfactory. Iraqis whose passports were in order could now cross the frontier at any recognised crossing place without having to go round by Jeralbus, and trans-frontier tribal migrations, which with Syria were causing much difficulty, took place regularly and without incident. He was glad that a feeling of mutual confidence had been developed, and hoped that soon there would be a large increase in the volume of Turco-Iraq trade.

Diarbekr and Kurdistan

18. The road from Mardin to Diarbekr (Appendix B*) at first passes through bare and inhospitable, but not wild, country. There is some low scrub on the hills, and one narrow valley, which is followed by the road, has trees and is cultivated. Gendarmes were noticed at frequent intervals and there was evidence of considerable motor traffic. About half-way the country opens out and there is more successful cultivation, but only a fraction of what should apparently be possible. Little or no use seems to be made of the Tigris, which here is disappointing as it can be waded across, and I was later informed that large areas were out of cultivation for the simple reason that population [illegible] existed. What [illegible] regarded as fairly good crops of hay had, I was told to to my surprise, not been sown and certainly would not be harvested. Last year some £T 4 million of grain had to be imported into the Diarbekr area, which in pre-war days had a large grain export trade, and, in spite of the abundant rains, this year's crop would, owing to the short sowing, be unlikely to leave any surplus. In addition to grain the chief products are sheep and goats, wool, skins and rice.

19. Diarbekr is visible from a distance of 20 kilom. and, as it is approached, the traveller is increasingly struck by its appearance. For a moment, some 2 kilom. south of the town, the attention is diverted to a fine old Roman bridge [illegible] road across the Tigris. Then the eye catches the gardens on the steep slopes under the walls, with the town situated on a bluff some 400 feet above the Tigris. Enclosed in its walls of black basalt the town [illegible]

* Not printed

quite different from any other Turkish town I have seen [illegible]

[illegible]

23. [illegible]

and his advice to me was to take another route. Less reluctantly than I had thought, and partly because I was already in possession of a good deal of information, I decided to take Mumtaz Bey's advice and to travel viâ El Aziz, Malatia and Sivas to the Black Sea, omitting Erzerum, which was visited last year by His Majesty's consul at Trebizond. In this way I was enabled to see something of Central Turkey and, on balance, I probably gained more than I lost.

24. There is no doubt that tranquillity reigns east of the Euphrates, but it is also clear that that tranquillity is dependent on force. The greater part of the Turkish army is in that area, and a sight of the mountainous nature of the country and of the long distances between towns and villages makes it easy to realise what difficulties the Turks have had to face in stamping out rebellion and in dealing with unrest. One of the main weapons employed was the deportation of rich and powerful Kurdish families. Many of these have since returned and [illegible] but in the process they have lost all their belongings, and there is not, so I was told, a single wealthy or powerful Kurd in Turkish Kurdistan to-day.

25. With the villagers the first step was to dispossess them of arms. The process has been going on for four years, but arms are still abundant [illegible] Mush and Bayazid are [illegible] It was interesting to hear some officers expressing sympathy with these Kurdish villagers, poor devils, who, they said [illegible]

26. [illegible] Diarbekr [illegible] Bey was [illegible] Van when I was at Diarbekr. He had only arrived there with extreme difficulty owing to the state of the roads, and I was informed that altogether [illegible] 150 persons [illegible]

27. [illegible] Improved means of communication will help, and a good harvest or two will be useful [illegible] Kurdistan is a thing apart. As far as the Euphrates Kurdish is spoken much more than Turkish, and it is rather surprising to find that even as far as Sivas the old metal currency is [illegible] A beggar in Malatia refused one of the new metal coins! Paper, the Ottoman Bank manager told me, is at once exchanged for gold, which with the old Turkish silver currency is alone current in Sivas [illegible] Eastern Turkey.

28. Fortunately for Turkey, I found with Mumtaz Bey, as with the army officers already referred to, considerable sympathy [illegible] population. The [illegible] development of Kurdistan was, he said, his chief life's work. Money was lacking and the material [illegible] but they thought they could win through. Education was being rapidly developed, railways and roads would make a big difference, and much profit was hoped for from the advice given by a Hungarian agricultural expert who had recently been engaged to visit and report on the possibilities of the eastern provinces. Briefly, I found at Diarbekr, and not alone in the walled compound within the walls which contains all the administrative departments and army headquarters, the same spirit of [illegible] and progress which animates Angora to-day.

Diarbekr to the Euphrates.

29. For some 40 kilometres from Diarbekr the road (Appendix (*)) traverses what should be a fertile plain, and where cultivated maize is the chief cereal; [illegible] good crops this year. [illegible] the road [illegible] the most Turkish road, is well planned but in poor order, enters mountainous country, which at Argana Maden becomes magnificent. The copper mine is not at present being worked, but a German engineer has been [illegible] and preparations are being made for working the mine when the Keban Diarbekr [illegible]

* Not printed.

railway reached Argana. In present circumstances successful exploitation is impossible owing to transport difficulties. Incidentally, one realises what a large engineering feat the construction of the railway will be. Marks on the mountain side show that the railway has been surveyed, but, with the country consisting solely of mountains and gorges, and with the precipitous sides of the Tigris gorges also only with much difficulty to provide room for the narrow road, the project will be a most expensive one. The railway will, I understand, pass from Malatia to a point 17 miles south of El Aziz, whence a branch will follow the Murad Su to Mush and Van, and thence along the south side of the picturesque Gok Lake to Arapkir Maden, Osmaniye, a small town on the main road 4 or 5 kilom. east of the former Argana Maden, which nothing is left to-day, and Diarbekr. For Diarbekr and Argana Maden the railway will be a godsend, but its object must be largely strategic.

30. The road through the mountains is dangerous. Not long ago robberies were frequent, but these have been stopped. Gendarmes in these parts were again numerous. While realising that my every movement in these parts was probably watched, the supervision, if there was any, was very unobtrusive, for it never once intervened on me. It did not occur to me that some at least of the gendarmes might be there "for mine especial safety." But two appeared from nowhere when we stopped by a little stream for lunch, and some time afterwards I was rather amused when two others stopped the car and asked if we had seen anything of the English Ambassador, for whom they had been instructed to look out.

31. At long last the mountains were left behind, and we looked down on the fertile Murad Su Plain, and, after passing through some miles of gardens with numerous prosperous looking mud villages, arrived at El Aziz. El Aziz (population 13,000) is the seat of Government of the most populous and one of the largest vilayets (areas). It is a comparatively new town, and, after Diarbekr, is a disappointment, for it is cheap, tawdry and built entirely of wood. Until recently it was very small, but such of the population of Harput on a steep hill to the north as survived the trade losses have now moved down to the new town on the plain.

32. In other days Harput was a prosperous town, whose population was largely Armenian. It also had a large American college and was surrounded by orchards. To-day the Armenians and the orchards are no more, troops are quartered in the American college buildings, which are very dilapidated in appearance, and the town has shared the fate of nearly all Armenian villages in Turkey. Hardly one stone remains upon another.

33. It is nevertheless interesting to find that a tradition started by the Armenians of Harput is maintained by the Turks of El Aziz. Many of the Armenians went to America, and from there sent frequent remittances to their relatives in the Hills. To-day the chief business of the Ottoman Bank in El Aziz is to transmit remittances to their relatives from Armenians who have also settled in America. Otherwise there is little commercial business and no sign of communications—Marsin, 260 kilom. away, is its present outlet. Its cultivation is limited to local requirements. Last year these were not met, grain had to be imported, and to-day the economic situation is bad. Water is, however, abundant, the soil looks fertile and only money and a little effort are wanted. Even so the shops in El Aziz seemed to be well stocked. As everywhere else in these parts local products can be purchased for almost nothing. Three or four eggs can be bought for the equivalent of a penny.

34. The most interesting feature of the road from El Aziz to Malatia (Appendix D*) is the crossing of the Euphrates. From El Aziz to Hankey (20 kilom. from El Aziz), the only thing to note, except for the first 30 kilom., a fertile plain and at Hankey (20 kilom. from El Aziz), the best grain crops I have ever seen in Turkey. These I learnt were due to the use of manures. Alongside them very poor crops could be noticed. The moral is obvious for no single area through which I passed could plead lack of water.

35. The road itself was that I was to find [illegible] and even from Turkish standards, the roads east of the Euphrates [illegible] for bad state and of the all too frequent absence of bridges. [illegible] must be due to the administration at Diarbekr. It is the [illegible] For the last 20 kilom. before the river is crossed the road is [illegible] to the heavy rains as a result of which the Euphrates, which the road or track [illegible] follows, overflowed its banks and washed away any road there may have been. However, we arrived ultimately at what, before the floods, had been the village of

* Not printed.

Isogi to find both the village and the bridge non-existent. Of 200 houses only [illegible] escaped. Fortunately, in the six weeks which had passed since the flood, a steel [illegible] had been constructed. Its construction had, according to its proud owners, taken a month and during that time all transport between east and west had been interrupted, and, though when things are busy, lorries have to wait as much as three days to be ferried across, I was, thanks to a letter from the Vali of El Aziz, not kept waiting. After an anxious hour my car and I were deposited safely on the western side of the swiftly flowing river. Thus did I say good-bye to [illegible] zone which had interested me immensely, and which left me more than [illegible]

The Euphrates to the Black Sea Littoral

36. From the Euphrates, Malatia is [illegible] by good road. Then the rains necessitated some wide detours. Malatia has a population of 19,000 and is chiefly noted for its fruit and for its being Ismet Pasha's constituency. He visits it annually and to this is probably due the construction of some pretentious, but apparently unused buildings outside the town. It also has a park and electric light, though the latter was out of order during my stay. Its bazaars are extensive and its shops appeared well stocked. On all sides of the town are orchards and, in addition to fruit, [illegible] and opium are cultivated.

37. It was a [illegible] to me to realise that Malatia is perhaps the [illegible] Turkish towns. It can be approached, as I did it, from the [illegible] the mountains from the north. The road to the south is very [illegible] Turkey. I was told that in winter mails take as long as six weeks to [illegible] a fortnight. During the fruit season Malatia has a short period of life, and then with the autumn returns to its long slumber. Grain, &c., could be [illegible] as will for export, but transport over incredibly bad roads is, if not impossible, at least [illegible] and here as elsewhere I heard the same tale though in greater degree. [illegible] crops required for local needs, the necessity for importation, the authorities blamed for not making better roads [illegible] days to come with the opening of the railway. Meantime, but [illegible] necessities as can be produced locally, transport charges make everything [illegible] expensive, for instance, at 9*d.* a pound is nearly 50 per cent. dearer than in [illegible]

38. At Malatia also, for the first time, I found real signs of nervousness. In other places robbers and brigandage were regarded more or less as the fun of the Fair and only likely to be encountered if one were really fortunate—or the reverse. Near Malatia, however, it is apparently much too serious a business. On the Keuler road robbery has for some time been a more or less everyday occurrence, but some arrests had just been made. A few days before my arrival, there had been a hold-up [illegible] which had resulted in shooting and deaths. The destruction of [illegible] had encouraged the brigands to greater efforts. It was some [illegible] the manager of the Ottoman Bank that they generally contented [illegible] with taking money, but disturbing to think that, as I was travelling with [illegible] they would find the booty inadequate and compensate themselves in [illegible]

39. [illegible] the Minister of the Interior was expected at Malatia from Sivas [illegible] undertaking [illegible] from the knowledge that a large force of [illegible] Escort as protection, and that I should meet him [illegible] at dawn for the north. Actually, as it turned out, Shukri [illegible] this plans at the last moment. I am sorry he did as he would [illegible] road (Appendix E*), which would have opened even his eyes, but the [illegible] at all the same, and nothing more exciting than a monotonous [illegible] over the worst road I have ever encountered, and that [illegible] from north to south in central Turkey, was my portion. Only one [illegible] seemed to have survived in the central mountainous area, and that was a [illegible] to the bridge. But, as its approaches on either side were non-existent [illegible] had to be made and the stream forded just the same.

40. It was in this area that I encountered several [illegible]. Occasional fields of barley were seen, but the country as a whole

* Not printed.

pastoral [illegible], though [illegible] the country [illegible] and hard as on the plateau and large [illegible] of sheep [illegible] are kept [illegible] Kargal is the chief centre [illegible] 23 kilo[illegible] stretch [illegible] excellent road [illegible] It was poor [illegible] broken road metal [illegible] which pedestrians [illegible] pavement [illegible] fortunate travellers [illegible] for the good intentions of [illegible] the present Vali [illegible] Trebizond who had [illegible] the Sivas section of the [illegible] and who [illegible] set out to [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

43 But I had another [illegible] gratitude to Shukri Kaya Bey. Having passed the well watered Zara district, which is fertile and where large herds of cattle and horses and many flocks of sheep were seen, the road [illegible] and dangerously steep [illegible] before I reached Sushehr. The khan was [illegible] and I [illegible] very kindly gave me use of the tents [illegible] for the Minister of the Interior and his party. It was [illegible] delightful [illegible] with [illegible]

44 [illegible] agricultural [illegible] Armenian [illegible] 2000 [illegible] When [illegible] doors [illegible]

Black Sea Littoral

45 Those who make the long [illegible] across Turkey by car over roads such as exist at present can [illegible] of Xenophon's 10,000. Rarely have I welcomed anything [illegible] the sight of the sea at Kiresun. The last day's journey from Sushehr was interesting and beautiful, for the comparative barrenness of the interior had given place to forests of pine and [illegible] nearer the sea [illegible] woods. Moreover from Kara Hissar [illegible] most picturesquely situated but [illegible] had a considerable Armenian population which put up a severe resistance [illegible] the road, though narrow, steep [illegible] to 6,000 feet and dangerous, owing to [illegible] overhanging precipices, is in a fairly good state [illegible] no longer clustered together to form [illegible] villages but are scattered about the precipitous hillsides [illegible] Switzerland [illegible] existence [illegible] Another [illegible] are many gorges [illegible] cultivated.

46 Kiresun (population 8000), the scene of [illegible] the notorious Osman Agha [illegible] Though [illegible] its [illegible] town. Last year the [illegible] frosts [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

49 The roads round Trebizond are good. I went some 70 kilom. along the Erzerum road [illegible] good state [illegible] of heavy motor traffic [illegible] frequent sight was that of former Greek [illegible] falling into ruin.

50 A [illegible] to Samsun [illegible] afforded a striking [illegible] Here there [illegible] prosperity [illegible] destroyed [illegible] and the people are content. But it may be that [illegible] of the Ottoman Bank [illegible] by the new Turkish banks [illegible] security. A new [illegible] has been [illegible] water. The represen[illegible] in Turkey [illegible] legal proceedings. Samsun also boasts a new park [illegible] The flowerbeds are [illegible] rather [illegible]

General Observations

51 In some notes written two years ago on a journey which I then made on the Turkish central plateau, I said that the strongest impression I received was one of complete security. The foregoing notes show that, at the present time, more extensive journeying this was not the case. Not that there is not security. But it is a qualified security which, one feels, is capable of collapsing with [illegible] warning. Apart from minor incidents, the Syrian frontier is quiet, though a sporadic [illegible] but [illegible] established, but will require and are, I think, receiving [illegible] Turkey is passing through a very acute economic crisis [illegible] parts to indulge on a small scale is by no means an infrequent [illegible]

52 The economic crisis and the brigandage are interdependent, for the Government has the country well in hand. There is no talk of opposition and the Ghazi is [illegible] in these parts as he is elsewhere. But empty stomachs beget discontent, and the only remedies for Turkey's present ills are a series of good harvests and development. My very clear impression is that, should there be [illegible] of bad harvests, or even one very bad one, the situation may [illegible] Everywhere the same tale is heard - Eastern Turkey was [illegible] and as a result, it did not bother about them. [illegible] but it will soon begin to expect concrete results and benefits. The present [illegible] time is on its trial in these parts which saw the beginning of the Nationalist movement and which have been living on patriotism ever since. Fortunately it takes very little to keep a Turkish peasant alive, but if that little is lacking for long as it has been lacking during the past year, Angora must look out for trouble.

53 It is true that the Government has not been helped by circumstances. It is short of money and last year's drought was a disaster. But signs are unfortunately lacking that steps are being taken to cope with the possibility of a similar disaster in the future. Railways are being built at a considerable cost, let us hope, though ultimately they will have an economic value are largely strategic in [illegible] Roads are a much more pressing necessity, but unfortunately even [illegible] Euphrates, their importance is ignored. A motorist who recently [illegible] Angora on his way from Singapore to London told me that [illegible] Afghanistan and Persia, the Turkish roads were the worst he had [illegible] And yet I know that, for instance the Malatia Sivas road, which is [illegible] high way, is much worse than any that he traversed. [illegible] taxes collected in Turkey to-day were intelligently spent on its roads for [illegible] and construction and repairs would not suffice) the effects would be great. Inaccessible towns and villages would be opened up, agriculture and trade would rapidly develop and the general standard of the country would be [illegible]

54. For in these remote parts the Angora reforms [illegible] though it is true that I did not see a fez and that the mosques appeared [illegible] Very occasionally I saw a man saying his prayers. I have already [illegible] fact that the old gold and silver currency is the only one [illegible] Turkish is the common language east of the Euphrates. [illegible] are unveiled, but, as I have already said, Diarbekr is a town apart, and even on the Black Sea coast, it was the exception to see women unveiled. Instead, as soon as they saw the car or a man approach they hastened to cover their faces. And all this is symptomatic of the low standard of living. The villages consist of dirty mud hovels and everything that comes out of them looks filthy. If I could make exceptions, I would do so in favour of the Black Sea coast and of the eastern provinces, for, in my opinion, east of the Euphrates the people are clean and the standard of living less low than west of that river. In all towns there are [illegible] clean looking hospitals, but the Ministry of Health, with which the problem of stamping out disease and so increasing the population must largely lie, has a [illegible] to tackle.

55 New schools are being built everywhere and education is being developed [illegible] but progress is very slow. The new alphabet can of course only be firmly established when the generation now at school has grown up and it is not astonishing that everybody prefers to use the old characters. For even the officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs do so. But it is just a little surprising that in Samsun's best restaurant, as everywhere else except in Kiresun where one has a choice of script, the menu should be written in the old script. No official whom I came across could read the new script with facility, and some proof of the disorganisation caused by its compulsory use as from the 1st May is given by the fact that telegrams from one town

to another at present take from three to four days. The Ottoman bank manager at Malatia told me that a telegram to the United Kingdom had taken ten days *en route* and arrive some days after [illegible] sent by post. On the other hand, I must state that a telegram sent by me from Kiresun at 4 o'clock one afternoon was delivered within five hours. Still, if there is congestion with the telegraph clerks, things must be chaotic in the administrative departments.

56 But things may not be so bad as they seem, for there was at least one satisfactory sign. Just as these secret reports were being collected, I learned that in several very remote districts I had visited parties of from twenty to thirty of these recruits, looking quite [illegible] and in charge of [illegible] gendarmes. Only a few days such a sight would, I understand, have been impossible, as detachments had to be sent to the villages to root out the recruits and then strong guards mounted to prevent their escape.

57 The most obvious impression made by my journey was the sparseness of the population. In the course of the last three years I have visited nearly every part of Turkey and I wonder more than ever where the fourteen odd million manage to hide themselves. They exist, for the honourable Mr. Jacquart says so. According to his statistics Elaziz is the most populous vilayet. Yet a glance at the road charts will show how rare are the villages there and elsewhere. Whether the eye deceives or not is, however, of no great importance. The fact remains that the large decrease in the area under cultivation is, apart from the drought of 1928, attributed to the smallness of the population. In such circumstances it might be imagined that the maximum use would be made of the man power available. Such is far from being the case. Though scarce, man power is cheap, and in Turkey two or three men are required to do work which elsewhere would be done by one. Further, again, with the exception of the Black Sea littoral, it is very rare to see men working in the fields. Such work as is done falls to the women, while the men spend the day in laziness at the village cafe. To this extent and to the Turkish system of taxation, which far centuries has [illegible] the peasants from producing more than was required for their own [illegible] peasants are themselves largely to blame for their present misfortunes.

[illegible] Government also has its responsibilities. Whether or not the [illegible] Turkey can be economically exploited I can not say, but from my observations on this journey I should unhesitatingly say that Turkey could become a very prosperous agricultural country. By this I do not mean that it could become a flourishing garden like the fertile parts of the Black Sea coast. That is impossible, for there are vast barren mountainous areas which are probably incapable of development unless, perhaps, by afforestation. But nearly everywhere I went there are wide valleys and plains with fertile soil and abundant water. I have heard it said that nothing on earth is more honest than the soil. That is probably true, but Providence must be helped and, if Turkey is to prosper, she must abandon her old methods of agriculture, the peasants must abandon their lazy habits and the Government must do its share.

59. The Ghazi is, in a small way, doing his best to introduce up to date methods of agriculture, but these can avail little, even if introduced elsewhere, unless the farmer can have some opportunity of getting his produce to market at a reasonable cost. It is for this reason that the question of roads seems to me of such great importance. That that importance is realised by many persons in the Government and by some provincial Governors I have no doubt. Some of the latter, honest patriots, are working hard and the results of their labours are readily evident, but not [illegible] there are the others, who either cannot, or will not, apply themselves to the work of reconstruction and development. They are of the old school, they have a certain fear of Angora but are lacking in initiative and energy, they are prepared to leave agriculture to Allah and, if money is to be made out of a road or any other contract, to make a superficial show, as, for example, to see the road constructed for 10 miles outside the seat of Government and then to bribe in the bribes. In brief, with them individual come long before national interests.

60 The fact is that the Turkish Government, with all its keenness, lacks money and human instruments. The [illegible] is [illegible] though [illegible] good [illegible] there certainly is a new spirit about among the young educated Turks of to-day, but only when bribery and corruption are stamped out, transit difficulties at Trebizond for example, are largely due to endeavours to extract baksheesh, can real progress be possible. Government servants will only render honest, disinterested service when they are adequately paid, and that can only be done when the Turkish Government has the money. Thus the vicious circle is completed, for until there is progress there

[illegible]

E 4

61. And so, while bearing in mind that it is even more dangerous in Turkey than elsewhere to judge the general from the particular, I come to the firm and strongest impression left on me by the whole—that with all the good intentions in the world Turkey at present is incapable of developing herself to any serious extent within any measurable period of years. She must, in my opinion, invoke scientific assistance and new methods in agriculture; she must have expert advice and, last upon it, above all, she must have money. The financial adventurers have burnt their fingers badly in Turkey in the last five years. They are now shy, and, if Turkey is willing to come down from her high horse and face facts, to receive capital on reasonable terms and to accord it decent treatment, she may obtain the badly-wanted assistance from reputable houses. With this she may, provided the new spirit now abroad in the country is maintained, rapidly develop her latent wealth and become a prosperous civilised country. Otherwise it is impossible to be optimistic. The old Turkey was a peculiar organism and could more or less stand still. The new Turkey has broken with the past. She claims to be a modern State, and, if she is to justify her claim, she must go forward. To her, to stand still means failure. She has tried to go forward alone, and the effort, if persisted in, threatens to prove too much for her. It remains to be seen whether the real interests of the country will be realised before it is too late, or whether the well-meant efforts of Turkey's present rulers are to be doomed to failure and their country condemned to a hand to mouth existence which can hardly fail to be a menace alike to herself and to the world at large.

I have, &c.
ALEX. K. HELM

Constantinople, June 29, 1929

E 3654/222/44 No. 11

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 22.)

(No. 309.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 18, 1929*

WITH reference to Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 141 of the 2nd April last, rumours of impending manœuvres in Thrace on a large scale are again beginning to make themselves heard, and the obvious inference is being drawn that they are intended as a warning to Greece not to think that Turkish patience is inexhaustible.

2. As you are aware, the Turkish General Staff were as early as last March contemplating such manœuvres and in April the General Staff again mentioned the project to my military attaché, intimating that they might be able to invite him to attend, while in conversation they have recently reverted to the project of autumn manœuvres in Thrace. It is, therefore, not necessary to assume that the present reports of impending manœuvres are rumours deliberately spread by the Turkish Government with a view to influence the Greek Government's attitude in the Turco-Greek negotiations.

3. During the past few days, so far as one can judge from the press, these negotiations have almost reached a deadlock and both the official and unofficial newspapers have expressed great exasperation at what they describe as the shiftiness of the Greek attitude. It may, perhaps, be that the Turkish Government hopes that renewed talk of manœuvres may bring the Greek Government to its senses, but the primary object of the manœuvres is genuinely military and they have been under consideration for a long time.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 3655/90/44 No. 12

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 22.)

(No. 310.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 18, 1929*

IN my despatch No. 67 of the 15th February I reported the condemnation to death of one Jemal and three of his associates in the so-called "Brusa conspiracy." I have now the honour to inform you that this sentence has in fact never been carried out. It was referred by the public prosecutor to the Court of Cassation and there quashed. It was repeated by the lower court at Brusa, again sent to cassation and again quashed. It has now been annulled by the Brusa court and replaced by a sentence of eighteen years' imprisonment for Jemal and of four years each for the other three.

2. This dilatory procedure is hardly to be ascribed to the subtlety of the Turkish legal mind, nor to hindering but rather to policy. The real leaders of the movement were probably disposed of unobtrusively long ago when it was repressed. These four wretches have been kept on tenterhooks for six months and finally let off with something less than death in order that the public at large should have a wholesome reminder of the power of the law.

3. The trial of Kadrie Hamdi, to whom I mentioned in my previous despatches as being charged with attempting to assassinate the Ghazi last winter, is proceeding in the same dilatory manner at Smyrna. It has been hinted that it was the Minister of Justice himself who insisted on transferring the case to Smyrna in order to afford a better chance of a fair trial, and that his impartiality brought him into violent conflict with "Bald" Ali, the old "hanging judge." If this tale is true, as it may be, it reflects considerable credit on the Minister.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 3658/225/44] No. 13

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 22.)

(No. 311.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 18, 1929*

FOR many months past the minorities have been left alone, but on the 10th instant a decision was given in the criminal court here which is deeply resented by the Greek community.

2. The matter originated early in the year when a local Greek newspaper, the "Chronica," which was reproducing from an Athenian newspaper a series of articles on the Turco-Greek campaign in Asia Minor, imprudently reproduced a phrase describing the mentality of the Turkish army when it reached Smyrna as "savage," the one epithet which the Turks most resent and which the Greeks most delight to apply to the Turks. General notice was first taken of the affair when Turkish students sought to satisfy patriotic promptings by wrecking the printing-office of the "Chronica." Then the police and authorities intervened not against the students, who have gone scot free, but against the proprietress of the newspaper, a local Greek lady. She was charged with publishing matter which constituted an insult to the Turkish nation. In the course of proceedings of many months' duration counsel for the defence tried to show that the phrase complained of meant less than it obviously does, but his efforts were of no avail. The proprietress of the paper was condemned on the 10th instant to "prison hard" for three years. It is true that this is the minimum penalty provided by the articles upon which the prosecution was based, but nevertheless it is difficult not to feel that the sentence was vindictive.

3. Another recent occurrence concerns the local Jewish community. The Turkish gunpowder monopoly has been in the hands of a French group associated with certain Turkish Jews and a few influential Turks. Not long ago the company was reconstituted, and for this purpose accounts had to be presented. An item vaguely described as "expenses at Paris" or "expenses at Angora" and amounting to as much as £30,000 sterling provoked a dispute among the Jewish members of the group. Arbitration failed, and the matter went to court. Then the fiscal authorities stepped in and demanded profits tax on this large sum. The Jewish members of the company replied by hinting that they had had to spend the money in bribes in influential quarters at Angora. The Turkish response was to clap these six Jewish gentlemen into jail, and to cause it through the mouth of the Minister of Justice that the utmost rigour of the law would be used against all who dared to make sport of the good guys of their gaol. What therefore the ostensible charge against these gentlemen is that they insinuated that official corruption is still a possibility in modern Turkey, the real reason against them is that they have not given enough "backsheesh." I expect that the farce of a trial will be allowed to drag on until, as on previous occasions, members of the Jewish community make a further payment to satisfy the rapacity of those in power at Angora.

I have &c.
GEORGE R CLERK

E 3657 2657 44 No 4

Mr Howard (*Received July 22*)

(No 2)

His Majesty's Government

No 7 from His Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte

1929

No 4

Constantinople July 22

St

that from the 22nd June to 2nd July I was on Mudania to Kara at Isnik Kavak Mudania Brusa I attended to attract to Constantinople the Ankara Express owing to floods and to the Ankara Express at Eski Shehir owing to floods and to the Ankara Express at Eski Shehir owing to floods and to the Ankara Express at Eski Shehir

[E 3772, 92, 44] No. 17

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 26.)

(No. 188. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, July 26, 1929*

MY telegram No. 184.

Minister for Foreign Affairs told me to-day that Greek Government think it best to allow the matter to settle down again if possible, after the recent break down before considering any further steps which may comprise reference to League of Nations or Hague Tribunal.

He attributes stiffness to Turkish Government over passport question to pressure of private interested parties.

I learn that Venizelos is not optimistic.

Copy by bag to Constantinople.

[E 3779/92/44] No. 18

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 330.)
Sir, *Athens, July 15, 1929*

WITH reference to Sir Percy Loraine's telegram No. 168 of the 29th June, concerning the relations between this country and Turkey, I have the honour to inform you that on the 11th July the new Turkish Minister, Emin Bey, presented his letters of credence to the President of the Republic.

2. It was unfortunate from the point of view of public opinion in this country that only a day or two previously it was reported in the Greek press that the Turkish authorities in Constantinople had expropriated the properties of two Constantinople Greeks, alleging as a pretext that the latter had fled from Constantinople and had thereby lost the right to be regarded as "établis." The press, in commenting on the friendly speeches exchanged between Emin Bey and Admiral Coundouriotis, has not failed to draw attention to this unfortunate coincidence, whilst M. Michalacopoulos informed me that he had protested strongly against this action at his first conversation with the new Minister.

3. Emin Bey subsequently gave an interview to a local newspaper, in which he professed ignorance of the seizures at Constantinople, whilst suggesting that they might possibly arise from the execution of the Athens agreements of 1926 as subsequently extended, by which urban and rural properties belonging to Greeks and situated in areas inhabited by populations subjected to exchange became Turkish State property. His Excellency proceeded to emphasise the desire of Angora to sign a pact of friendship and arbitration as well as a commercial treaty with Greece as soon as the present negotiations had concluded. Referring to naval armaments, his Excellency expressed the opinion that the Turkish Government would not perhaps be opposed to a partial reduction, and explained that the modernisation of the "Goeben" was necessitated by her age and was in no way directed against Greece.

4. From conversations with officials at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I have ascertained that one of the main points at issue now is the Greek demand for recognition of passports issued by the previous régime in Turkey to certain categories of Constantinople Greeks who had left the country and whom the Turkish Government wished to disown. The other points concern the financial arrangements for the liquidation and compensation of properties, of which those of the non exchangeable Greeks and Turks is only one. I enquired what sums were involved, and was told that, whereas the £500,000 sterling originally paid over as a pledge for Turkey was then considered to be a maximum sum only, calculated to cover all possible demands and still leave a balance, this was no longer the case, as the Turks had succeeded in introducing other elements to swell the account. They had also succeeded in repudiating responsibility for certain classes of Greek claims which would now fall to be borne by the Greek Exchequer. Altogether I gathered that Greece expected to have to pay another £300,000 to £400,000 sterling. After the table had been cleared of these survivals of the war and really normal conditions had been established between the two countries, Greece would consider opening negotiations for a pact.

5. Greek public opinion is following the negotiations at Angora closely and critically, but with feelings of helpless and bitter resignation. Greeks have too much experience of Turks to expect fair dealing, whilst such incidents as the recent expropriations at Constantinople make them painfully aware that Turkey holds all the cards. The Turkish minority in Eastern Thrace can be turned to no account as a means of pressure. Turkey, it is understood, would welcome any excuse to carry the exchange of populations to its logical conclusion and expel the unwanted Constantinople Greeks in return for the Turkish agriculturists of Eastern Thrace. The latter would be absorbed without difficulty in the empty spaces of Asia Minor, whereas for Greece, apart from the historical and sentimental considerations involved, the arrival of over 100,000 urban refugees from Constantinople would mean economic disaster.

6. I have forwarded a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY

P.S. As reported in my telegram No. 184 of the 23rd July, it is announced in the Athens press to-day that the negotiations at Angora broke down last Saturday. It appears that the Greek Minister, M. Papas, had called on Tewfik Rushdi Bey in order to express the condolences of the Greek Government over the fire at Angora. A discussion on the questions at issue developed, in the course of which M. Papas, without instructions from Athens, informed the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Greek Government could not go beyond the sacrifices which they had already agreed to, and which amounted to £600,000 sterling. He also intimated to him that they regretted being unable to accept the Turkish contention whereby the Greeks who had left Constantinople with imperial passports must be held to have lost their right to return and to be liable to lose their property, the value of which, at the most moderate estimate, amounted to £400,000 sterling. M. Papas added that his Government at the most could discuss the possibility of prohibiting the return to Constantinople of those Greeks with imperial passports who might be shown to be undesirable, but even they must not be deprived of their property. To this Tewfik Rushdi replied by expressing regret that, in his opinion, there was no ground for further negotiation. He added that fresh negotiations would be a matter of more difficult than those pursued hitherto.

2. The conversation ended at this point, and the Turkish Government thereupon published a semi-official communiqué through the Agence d'Anatolie announcing the rupture of negotiations.

3. The "Messager d'Athènes" adds in conclusion that, from all the information available, it appears that the final discussions at Angora revealed the fact that Turkey was aiming much more at the appropriation of the properties of the Greeks in question than at their exclusion.

July 23, 1929 O. C. H.

[E 3789/3789/44] No. 19

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 323.)
Sir, *Constantinople, July 24, 1929.*

ON the 18th instant a fire broke out in an old quarter of Angora and destroyed some 500 shops and 100 dwelling-houses. So far as is known, only one life was lost, and the fire itself is probably considered by the Turkish Government as a blessing in disguise, for it destroyed an old, insanitary and over-crowded quarter which constituted one of the chief obstacles to the carrying out of the new plans to make Angora a representative modern capital, and the compensation which the victims will now receive for their loss will be nothing like the sum which would have had to be paid to expropriate the owners, even on the limited Turkish scale. None the less, it had been proclaimed a national disaster and relief funds of all sorts are being raised for the sufferers. I therefore thought it well to suit my action to that of my colleagues, and I accordingly addressed a telegram of condolence to the

Minister for Foreign Affairs and sent a subscription to the Red Crescent, neither of which actions, I might add, have so far elicited even a formal acknowledgement. I was the more moved to this as it was undesirable that comparisons should be drawn between the action of His Majesty's Government and the Turkish fire last winter (see my despatch No. 48 of the 31st January last) and now

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 3790/92/44] No. 20

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 324. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, July 24, 1929*

I HAVE the honour to offer below some observations on the rupture in the Greco-Greek negotiations reported in Mr. Harvey's telegram No. 184 of the 23rd instant.

2. Not unnaturally the immediate reaction of our attitude adopted by the Turkish journals showed that they considered that the Turks naturally put all the blame on the Greeks. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has been on a visit to Constantinople, spoke of the rupture as most regrettable but in the face of the Greeks' attitude, inevitable. The Turkish press has consistently maintained that M. Michalacopoulos had not the authority for signing the agreement provisionally reached at Angora. On the 21st instant the "Milliet" said that the Turkish Government and people were sick of Greek conversations, that Turkey had made concessions over the Thrace question, over compensation, over the return of families, and over the restoration of properties and had declined to go further. On the 22nd instant Mahmud Bey's editorial article in the same paper, discussing the rupture of the 20th, explained that the Greek Government insisted on a settlement which would have allowed the return to Constantinople of Greeks whom Turkey considered to be politically undesirable.

3. The chief Greek delegate on the Mixed Commission tells me in confidence that the basis on which he was virtually reached was that Greece should pay to Turkey £T.4,250,000 sterling, £150,000 sterling was to go to Turkey direct, £450,000 sterling to be distributed by the Mixed Commission among the Moslem property owners of Western Thrace, and £150,000 sterling to be paid similarly by the commission to Greek owners of property in Turkey. The point on which the negotiations ended broke down was as the Turkish press had declared, the refusal of the Turks to admit the return of the Constantinople Greeks who had fled the country at the crisis of 1922. Less correctly the Greeks claimed that under article 16 of the Lausanne Exchange Convention these people had a clear right to return and that this right was confirmed in the subsequent conventions. The Turks, however, refused to interpret these articles in any way except that which would give the police the right to scrutinise each individual case. Not only the Turks responded to any offer which the Greek delegate made, but made it plain if not already understood really, at least by implication that it would direct the return of refugees to Constantinople provided that the Greeks concerned should be allowed to dispose freely of their property in Constantinople.

4. The number of Greeks who are thus refused leave to return here runs, so the Greek delegate tells me, into some tens of thousands, and the value of the properties which they thus stand to lose he puts at between £200,000 and £400,000 sterling.

5. It is a little difficult to discern the real motive for the break-down of the negotiations. M. Rivas Vicuna, who is certainly not biased against the Greeks, assures me that the Turks were not at all ungenerous in their attitude. I imagine myself that the Turks have genuine objections to some of the more active Greek which might embitter Turco-Greek relations if returned to Constantinople or Imbros and Tenedos. Perhaps, as is suggested by Mr. Harvey's despatch No. 184 of the 23rd instant, the Greek Government felt the bargain was becoming really too hard and was not altogether anxious to meet the Turks on the one outstanding point. The Turks too may have had at the back of their minds the thought that, of the sum originally earmarked, there was still another £500,000 sterling [illegible] to be continued they might manage to secure. Whether either these speculations are correct or not, the fact is that the negotiations are definitely broken off and that the Turkish

official press hints that Turkey can easily cover herself by carrying out the further sequestrations of Hellenic properties (some 200 have been under sequester since March and longer) for which the unofficial "République" now clamours. It is to be hoped that the Turkish Government will resist this temptation to embitter the situation. In their better moments both Governments, it may be presumed, still desire a settlement, and M. Rivas Vicuna, who of the two surviving neutral members of the commission alone remains here, seems determined to do what he can to bring it about.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3811/92/44] No. 21

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson. (Received July 30.)

(No. 191.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, July 30, 1929.*

MY telegram No. 186.

Greek Government have proposed to [illegible] submission to arbitration of all outstanding questions. They suggest that the two governments should be invited to invite a neutral third party, preferably president of The Hague Court, to select three arbitrators who would decide all pending questions.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

N 3602/3602/38 No. 22

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson. (Received August 3.)

(No. 65.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 3, 1929.*

HIS Majesty's consul at Erzerum informs me by telegraph that it is reported that a rising has taken place in Georgia, and fighting is said to be in progress at several points along the railway line from Batoum to Tiflis.

E 3882/14/44 No. 23

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 66.)

(Telegraphic.) *En clair.* *Constantinople, August 3, 1929.*

BRITISH Chamber of Commerce here beg me to transmit following to you:

"Paris Conciliation has notified British claimants in Turkey that funds at their disposal will not permit payment of more than 52½ per cent. of their assessed claims without interest, equivalent in all to only 50 per cent. if interest at 5 per cent. be added as allowed to British claimants in other countries. We now understand that it is intention of His Majesty's Government to claim from reparation fund referred to in Treaty of Versailles the value of all German assets in Turkey of public trustee—some 10 million pounds—for exclusive benefit of British private claims on Germany in full with 5 per cent. interest. As representatives of British claimants in Turkey, we respectfully call attention of His Majesty's Government to articles 231, 232 and Annex I paragraph 9, [illegible] whereby Germany undertakes to compensate all damage [illegible] and incurred in countries of her allies.

We submit therefore, that we have a lien on these surplus German assets for the payment in full of our assessed claims plus 5 per cent. interest less totals received on account from Paris Commission. Apart from our above claim on public trustee's fund, we maintain our rights on the battleships moneys which should have been set aside for reparations due to British nationals in Turkey. We further reserve all our claims on reparation fund under above-mentioned articles Treaty of Versailles.

"Finally, common equity and justice demand that we should receive compensation similar to that obtained by other British nationals in enemy countries for their losses in the war. The amount required to satisfy claimants is small in comparison with the funds available."

E 3885 14 44 No. 24

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson (*Received August 5.*)

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) R *Constantinople, August 5, 1929*

MY telegram No. 66.

I have received memorandum from Chamber of Commerce stating case for paying balance of assessed British claims in Turkey out of surplus German assets. Memorandum goes by next bag.

British claimants in Turkey have been hardly treated, and case put forward by them seems to deserve sympathetic consideration. I trust, therefore, that nothing will be done to prejudice disposal of surplus German assets until this claim has been examined.

E 3904 92 44] No. 25

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 342. Confidential.)
Sir, *Constantinople, July 30, 1929.*

IN continuation of my confidential despatch No. [illegible] of the 24th instant, I have the honour to report that a secretary of the German Embassy spoke recently to a member of my staff on the subject of the Turco-Greek rupture.

2. M. von Fries said that M. Rivas Vicuna, the neutral president of the Mixed Exchange Commission, had told him that the refusal of the Turks to allow Hellenes who had left Constantinople during the armistice period to return to Turkey on Ottoman passports had been seized upon by the Greek Government as a pretext to break off negotiations. The Italian Ambassador had made an eleventh-hour trip to Angora to try to induce both parties to reach an agreement. He had failed owing to the determination of the Greeks to put an end to the discussions.

3. M. von Fries went on to say that there was a suspicion that the French were not ill-pleased at what had happened. Italy wished Turkey and Greece to come to friendly terms in order to form a *bloc*—Italy-Greece-Turkey—with which to overawe Yugoslavia. France had wind of this move and, fearing a threat to the *Petite Entente* system, had done her utmost to prevent a rapprochement between Turkey and Greece.

4. M. von Fries attributed the frequent changes in the Greek Foreign Ministry to the fact that there were powerful influences directed against an agreement fundamentally desired by both parties.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3907/90/44] No. 26

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 337.)
Sir, *Constantinople, August 1, 1929*

AT the end of my despatch No. 310 of the 18th ultimo I alluded to the trial of Kadrie Hanem. This case has now ended in smoke. Whatever were the motives which prompted the lady to press an interview with the Ghazi, the authorities seem to have become convinced that she did not want to murder him. She was duly acquitted on the 30th ultimo.

2. Semi-official newspaper comment has, of course, emphasised this verdict as an example of modern Turkish justice. In another connexion the "Milliet" extols

Turkish justice of to-day by quoting in a leading article (of which a copy is enclosed*) from a report of the foreign legal advisers. What else the report says I cannot tell, as its contents have not been disclosed, but, at any rate it may perhaps fairly be claimed that there are countries in Europe with whose standard of justice that now administered in Turkey would compare not unfavourably.

3. To us the end of the Kadrie Hanem case is especially welcome, because both the Public Prosecutor and the press have throughout its course made stupid allegations that certain British officers were acting as intermediaries between Turkish political exiles in London and Paris and Kadrie Hanem. The truth seems to have been that Kadrie Hanem's husband was employed by one or more of these ex-officers, who represented certain political interests, and that he and they went to Paris and London on more than one occasion.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3908 222 44] No. 27

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 338.)
HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 8 from His Majesty's military attaché, dated the 15th July, respecting the Turkish army.

Constantinople, August 1, 1929.

Enclosure in No. 27

Major Heywood to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 8.)
Sir, *Constantinople, July 15, 1929.*

WITH reference to paragraph 6 of my despatch No. 7 of the 8th July, 1929:

2. I have the honour to report that the military dispositions which had been adopted by the Turkish General Staff to deal with Kurdish risings in 1925 have now been modified.

3. These dispositions involved the presence of a numerically large proportion of the Turkish army in the eastern vilayets. It is reported, and is shortly the move of the headquarters of the VIth and VIIIth Army Corps from Sivas and Erzerum to Kassaba and Tokat respectively, the move of the 3rd and 12th divisions from Sivas and Mush to Konia and Sivas respectively, and the redistribution of divisions to army corps.

4. All army corps have now been reorganised on a basis of two infantry divisions. Corps cavalry squadrons, of army corps which do not possess a cavalry division, have now been raised to cavalry regiment. The artillery of an infantry division has been altered from a regiment to two. The engineers of army corps have been separated and constituted as a regiment, with a battalion of three companies for each army corps.

5. The addition of independent fortress infantry brigades and fortress artillery battalions to the foreign units have been abolished.

6. This reorganisation seems to have been carried out for the purpose of obtaining a more even distribution of the Turkish army and, in the case of the artillery and technical troops, more flexibility and ease of control.

7. The only political inferences which can be made are that Kurdistan has been satisfactorily pacified and that Turkey does not fear aggression on the part of Russia.

8. A table* showing the new organisation of the Turkish army and diagrams* showing the comparative distribution of army corps and infantry divisions in January 1928 and July 1929 are attached.*

I have, &c.
H. F. HEYWOOD, *Major, R.A.*

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* Not printed.

E 3902, 92/44] No. 28.

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 360.)
Sir, *Athens, August 1, 1929*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 191 of the 30th July regarding Greco-Turkish relations, I have the honour to report that I recently had an interesting conversation with M. Argyropoulos, who is at present Minister of the Interior, but who formerly held the post of Greek Minister at Angora and afterwards of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

2. His Excellency spoke his own mind with considerable frankness. He was convinced in his opinion that the Turks did not wish to have a settlement; every time negotiations progressed and reached a point where a settlement seemed likely the Turkish Government receded. The objective towards which Turkey was working steadily and resolutely was the expulsion from the country of all non-Turkish elements who had grown up under the capitulary régime. Tewfik Rushdy Bey had on several occasions proposed to M. Argyropoulos that the two Governments should agree to complete the exchange of populations by the removal of the Constantinople Greeks against that of the Turks of Western Thrace. The Greek Government had naturally declined to admit the possibility of such a solution, but that none the less was what, in his Excellency's opinion, the Turkish Government were working for and what in all probability they would finally attain.

3. He had [illegible] that his Government had no objective means of [illegible] Western category of Turkish persons or properties they touched in Greece, the Turks had always a larger Greek category in Turkey. The Greek cards would always be trumped.

4. Referring to the present impasse, his Excellency said that an appeal might eventually be made to the League of Nations or to The Hague Court, but it was to be feared that this would only result in fresh resolutions and formulas which, whilst perhaps putting off the evil day, would not deter the Turkish Government from its set purpose of clearing Constantinople of all Greek elements. That was the goal and it was part of a policy directed against all foreigners who had lived under the privileged [illegible] the Turks were only biding their time until they were able to conclude [illegible] establishment treaty by which all foreign persons, properties and concerns would be at all times and in all places subject to the whim of the local prefect.

5. I learn that M. Venizelos also regards the situation unhopefully. He would be quite prepared to appeal to the League of Nations but more with the view of leaving no stone unturned than in any belief that a settlement can be arrived at.

6. I have not troubled you with reports on the comments of the Greek press since these follow the lines which were to be expected. Particular resentment is felt, however, at the menacing tone apparently adopted by the Turkish press and at the ingenuity with which Greece has been made to appear as responsible for the delays and the final breakdown of the negotiations.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY.

C 6049 5691/19] No. 29

Sir R. Graham to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 527.)
Sir, *Rome, August 1, 1929*

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Venizelos arrived in Rome yesterday morning and was received by Signor Mussolini, with whom, according to the press, he had a long and cordial conversation on the subjects concerning the two countries. He left Rome by the afternoon train for Paris on the same day.

2. In reply to enquiries by a representative of the "Messaggero," M. Venizelos stated that the Young scheme inflicted considerable injury on Greece, who would receive under it much less than the Dawes scheme had conferred on her, and would now be obliged to pay a war debt amounting to more than her share of the German reparations. He hoped that The Hague Conference would recognise the justice of his observations and would revise the new scheme in so far as Greece was concerned.

3. In reply to an enquiry regarding the Graeco-Turkish negotiations, M. Venizelos expressed his regret at their suspension, but added that he was not without hope that they would be resumed in a comparatively short time and would lead to a definition of all the questions pending between Athens and Angora. It was natural that the negotiations should be difficult, since they dealt with the financial interests of private persons, but Greece had never failed in goodwill and in the desire of arriving at an early agreement. A proof of her conciliatory attitude was afforded by her readiness to admit that Greeks who left Constantinople with inter Allied passports should not have the right to return there, though the treaties did, in fact, give them the right of residence. The Turkish Government went however, further and demanded the exclusion of Greeks who had left with Turkish passports, though their situation was clearly defined by the Treaty of Lausanne. Even after the suspension of the negotiations, Greece had proposed to the Angora Government to submit this dispute to the decision of friendly arbitration. If this proposition were refused, Greece would have recourse to the League of Nations.

4. I have not yet been able to ascertain anything concrete regarding the [illegible] of the conversations between Signor Mussolini and M. Venizelos or the subject of [illegible] articles. I learn, however, yesterday that M. Venizelos was, when he left Rome, in a very satisfactory state of mind.

I have, &c.
R. GRAHAM.

E 3997, 92/44 No. 30

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 201.)
(Telegraphic.) R *Athens, August 9, 1929*

My despatch No. 191.

Turkish Ministry's official reply of Turkish Government to Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs's note.

Turkish Government, according to inspired press communiqué, decline Greek proposal of arbitration on the ground that it had already been made by M. Michalacopoulos to Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs at Geneva and dropped. Questions at issue, moreover, are held to be of a political character and cannot consequently be submitted to arbitration.

Turkish Government in turn propose that neutral members at Mixed Commission be charged with task of pronouncing why agreements have not yet been fulfilled, what sums their fulfilment would cost and what would be best means of fulfilling them.

Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose attitude is reserved, is in communication with M. Venizelos.

E 4018/92/44] No. 31

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 12.)

(No. 204.)
(Telegraphic.) R *Athens, August 12, 1929.*

My despatch No. 368.

It is announced in semi-official communiqué to-day that, after consultation with M. Venizelos, the Greek Government propose to insist on their proposal for general arbitration of all outstanding questions and not only the question of juridical responsibility as desired by the Turkish Government. It is added that Greece will insist on submission to arbitration not only of differences arising from the Treaty of Lausanne and its annexes, but also of questions discussed at Angora first [illegible], such as question of [illegible] passports, but that she is willing to discuss method of appointing arbitrators. The reply to the Turkish Government will not be drawn up, however, until after careful study.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

E 4034 4034 44] No. 32

Mr Harvey to Mr A. Henderson.—(Received August 13.)

(No. 205.)
(Telegraphic.) R *Athens, August 13, 1929*

My telegram No 204

In view of expiry on 5th August of convention of regime established by Treaty of Lausanne, and in absence of a Greco-Turkish commercial agreement Greece to tariffs now being applied to Greek goods.

Greek Government in reply intend to apply general tariff to Turkish goods [illegible] date of application will be fixed shortly Greek imports to Turkey are estimated at 19 million drachmæ against Turkish imports to Greece at 250 million [illegible]

E 4041 92 44] No. 33.

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 15.)

(No 308.)
Sir, *Athens, August 10, 1929*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 191 of the 30th July, regarding Graeco-Turkish relations I have the honour to transmit to you herewith [illegible] of the note Greece at Lausanne proposal and of the Turkish reply, which were published in the Greek press to-day

2. M Michalacopoulos is in communication with M. Venizelos at the Hague and in the meanwhile the utmost reserve as to the next step is being maintained It is hinted, however, that the reply of the Turkish Government is held in competent circles to afford a margin for further discussions on the understanding, however, that there is sufficient guarantee that the pending questions will thus be finally settled Meanwhile the Ministers of the two countries have both left their posts on leave

3. An inspired commentary in the "Messager d Athènes" of the 9th August gives the following account of M Michalacopoulos's previous proposal of arbitration on March 25th His Excellency, who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Venizelos Government met his Turkish colleague at Geneva. He then told the latter that the only proper way of adjusting the various outstanding questions was by way of arbitration and that the two parties should have to submit to an impartial tribunal their entire dispute for decision in advance to accept the arbitrator's award Three months later the Venizelos Cabinet resigned Conversations took place between the two Governments at the open meeting a direct settlement without outside intervention These negotiations finally broke down over the Turkish efforts to prohibit the return to Greece of people of persons who had left on passports issued by the Turkish Imperial authorities before the abolition of the Capitulations and to deprive them of their properties According however to the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne these persons were entitled to return to and reclaim their constant home in Turkey and the personal estate of Greeks are all property questions, and the only way of settling such questions is by arbitration.

5. A copy of this despatch has been forwarded to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople

I have, &c
OLIVER HARVEY.

[E 4077, 86, 44] No. 34

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A Henderson.— (Received August 19.)

(No. 354.)
Sir, *Constantinople, August 13, 1929*

I HAVE the honour to refer to my despatch No. 244 of the 29th May last, I have to the definite returns of Turkish State revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1924–25

2. The Ministry of Finance has now published the national balance sheet of revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1928 29. No complete statement has been issued in regard to the financial years 1925–26, 1926–27 and 1927 28, but according to the Ministry of Finance, revenue during the financial year 1926 27, which was estimated at £T 190 158 154 actually yielded £T. 191 277,886 and for the succeeding year the national revenue amounted to £T 202 063 115, as against an [illegible] £T 194 880 554 No statement of expenditure for these years has been published but it is stated with reference to deficit to which the budget for the financial equilibrium was maintained

3. For the financial year 1928 29 revenue was estimated at £T 207,173,859, and expenditure at £T 207,169,388, the budget thus provided for a surplus of £T 4 471 In actual however the revenue collected by the Treasury amounted to £T 212 253,466, whilst the total expenditure was £T 205 112 010, and the final surplus therefore, £T 7,141,456

4. I have herewith the list of State revenues, showing the budget estimates [illegible] and the actuals received by the Treasury *

5. The increase in State revenues of recent years is worthy of note. The amount collected by the Treasury in 1924–25 was £T. 138,540,305, in 1926 27 this total had increased to £T. 191 277,886, whilst in 1928 29 the yield had still further increased to £T 212 253,466 This constant augmentation of the financial resources of the State, derived from the increase of existing taxes, the creation of new ones, and the tightening of the machinery of collection, has made possible the realisation of the Government's programme of public works undertakings

6. As regards expenditure in 1928–29, Departmental votes were in general fulfilled in accordance with the original estimates, but the following modifications were made:—

	£T
The original estimate amounted to	207,160 388
Supplementary credits	2 672 059
Extraordinary credits (not specified)	15 318,711
	225 160 158

Less—

	£T	£T
Credits annulled ...	1 990,089	
External debt (not paid) ...	10,558,059	
Suppression of various Government posts	2 500 000	
		15 048,148
Final expenditure ...		205 112 010

7. The surplus of £T. 7,141,456 in the hands of the Treasury at the end of the financial year 1928 29 has been carried forward to the current financial year

I have, &c
GEORGE R. CLERK

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* Not printed

[E 4078/92/44] No. 35.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 19.)

(No. 355.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August 14, 1929.*

WITH reference to Mr. Harvey's telegram No. 204 of the 12th instant regarding the Turco-Greek dispute, I have the honour to enclose the text,* as published in the local press, of the Greek note proposing to submit to arbitrators chosen by the League of Nations or by the President of the Swiss Republic all the questions under discussion and the text of the Turkish reply proposing that the arbitrators should be the neutral members of the Exchange Commission and that the terms of reference should be to enquire into the non-application of the agreements concluded.

2. Enis Bey, the new Turkish Minister in Athens, has returned there now to talk to discuss matters. My Greek colleague, M. Pappa left for Athens on the 5th instant and, on the strength of alleged telegrams from Athens, the Turkish press announces that he is to be dismissed for disobeying his instructions. The situation has therefore not improved, and the only element of any encouragement I can see in it is that the Turkish Government has not sequestered more Hellenic properties since the rupture.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
(for) Per. R. CLERK.

[E 4074/1136/91] No. 36.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 19.)

(No. 357.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August 15, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that according to an announcement in the Turkish press of the 12th instant, negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Hejaz Treaty of Friendship have resulted in the signing of a draft treaty under which, while Turkey recognises the complete independence of the Hejaz, the subjects of the two countries will enjoy most-favoured nation treatment.

2. I will report in due course such details as I may be able to gather.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Cairo.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4248/92/44] No. 37.

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received August 27.)

(No. 211.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, August 27, 1929.*

MY telegram No. 205.

It is announced that negotiations will begin for conclusion of a commercial *modus vivendi* similar to Anglo-Turkish Agreement.

Greek reply to Turkish note regarding arbitration of outstanding questions will be delivered in Angora to-day.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

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* Not printed.

[E 4372/92/44] No. 38.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 367.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August 28, 1929.*

WHEN I wrote my despatch No. 355 of the 14th instant, and for a week afterwards, the Turkish press was, or pretended to be, excited about the Turco-Greek dispute. The Greeks were reported to have closed Turkish sports clubs at Xanthi and Gumuljina, and reprisals at Constantinople were demanded. "Oppression" was declared to have started again in Western Thrace and retaliation here was called for. The Lausanne Commercial Convention having run out, each country applied its maximum tariff against the other, and the press interpreted this as an indication of their political relations. On the Greek press hinting that, as Turkey normally exports far more to Greece than Greece does to Turkey, Turkey might be the loser in this tariff warfare a leading article in the "Milliet" replied that it would be regrettable if Turkey were obliged to punish Greek shipping. Besides all this there was newspaper talk of sequestrating Hellenic properties, although action in this direction does not seem to have gone beyond preliminaries either here or at Smyrna.

2. For the last few days the press has been quietly awaiting the reply of the Greek Government. The Minister for Foreign Affairs declared to Mr. Lidonds on the 22nd instant that he had no qualms about the attitude of the Turkish Government. It was perfectly simple: Turkey merely demanded the execution of all the existing agreements, knowing quite well that Greece could not execute them. M. Pappa's conduct had been criticised and opposed by M. Michalacopoulos who has to be something to justify his criticisms of his predecessor's policy. He regretted M. Pappa's departure and, of course, all the concessions he had promised but could no longer stand.

3. Tewfik Rushdi Bey then mentioned a new idea he had had. If the Washington Powers succeeded in agreeing upon a reduction of navies, he was going to propose reduction on the same lines for the remaining Mediterranean Powers. He mentioned Turkey, Spain and Greece, and he evidently put the Balkan Powers in mind when speaking disdainfully of "Powers with really no navy at all" (i.e. the Balkan Powers minus Russia).

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4374/474/44] No. 39.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 369.)

Sir, *Constantinople, August 29, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 209 of the 9th July last I had the honour to report upon Russo-Turkish relations and upon the Turkish attitude to communism in Turkey. The prosecution at Smyrna of various Communists which I then mentioned has, as I anticipated, led to comparatively light sentences, some seventeen persons being condemned to terms of imprisonment not exceeding four and a half years each. They applied for a reversal of this sentence, but the Court of Cassation proved inexorable.

2. Early last month the Turks found another reason for being irritated with the Bolsheviks. Under the cry of Russia the old idea of a movement started among the students at Constantinople which seemed at first the perennial trembling of youth on the heels of age, took the form of decrying the men who have hitherto passed as the national poets of Turkey. Abdul Hak Hamid, Mehmed Emin and Yakub Kadri, the latter of whom injudiciously uttered the paradox that the youth of Turkey to-day were not worth their salt. The authorities took a serious view of the incipient movement. They sent Mehmed Emin, Yakub Kadri and other leading persons down from Angora to confer with the students. In the result the students agreed that those who fostered the movement were Communists and persons without love of country, and order was restored in the students' union, which the agitators had tried to capture.

3. The incident gave a fillip to the tendency of the press to criticise the Russian attitude. The Ikdam said that the incident might not mean Communist propaganda but that the ground was certainly being prepared for an attack on the security of the State. The "Jumhuriet" attempted to pour water on the flames by recalling that boys would be boys, and reverting to the policies of the "Pravda" it remarked that the grand fact was Turco-Russian friendship. But, it continued, Turks did not interfere in Russian affairs any more than Russians were entitled to interfere in Turkish affairs. Turks did not say the Soviet regime was barbaric, and Turks did not complain if Russia entered into negotiations with Western capitalists. Shortly afterwards a leading article in the semi-official "Millet" replied to the "Izvestiya's" assertion that certain forces in Turkey were trying to separate Russia and Turkey so as to force Turkey into the arms of capitalist Europe. The Millet's answer was that Turco-Russian friendship was a fact, but that it ranked the "Izvestiya" for pointing out the pitfall. It said that a distinction must be drawn between honest co-operation by capital and mutual exploitation. Russia herself invited the former. Turkey could be relied on to protect herself from the latter. On the 9th of this month the "Akshami" a paper usually well enough disposed to Russia, continued an article written against communism in general and denouncing it in Russia as synonymous with terrorism.

4. Of all the articles which irritation with the Bolsheviks has produced the most remarkable is an outburst from the pen of Hussain Jahid Bey picking up the text of Mr. Lansbury's lecture. Once Minister of Education at Angora and still a leader of opinion, the Hussain Jahid Bey is saying what Angora really thinks, and owing to position and what that implies, a President of the Turkish Club organisation, he can correct easily form the subject for all denunciations from Moscow. His article seems to me so significant that I append a translation of certain passages.* While Angora would be loth to sacrifice her alliance with a Russia which she knows she need not fear, Turkey is fully aware of the meaning of communism within Russia and of the activities of communism in Turkey.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4445/274/44] No. 40.

Mr. N. Henderson to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 4.)

(No. 1223 (C).)
Sir, *Paris, September 2, 1929.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 1616 of the 15th July last, I have the honour to inform you that it is announced in the press that a convention of commerce and navigation between France and Turkey was signed at Angora on the 29th August.

2. The Ministry for Commerce state that the French delegation has succeeded in obtaining 135 reductions in the Turkish tariff voted last June, relating to the chief items which are of interest to French export trade. In return, France grants Turkey minimum tariff treatment for all her goods.

3. The convention is announced to be much more detailed than that concluded in 1925. It settles on very liberal terms the status of French exchanges and also the régime for navigation and for names of origin for French wines. It will come into force very shortly.

I have, &c.
(For the Minister),
ADRIAN HOLMAN.

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* Not printed.

[E 4590/92/44] No. 41

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 217.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, September 9, 1929.*

GREEK correspondents at Geneva are persistently reporting conclusion of an Anglo-Greek agreement under mandate of League of Nations promising British naval protection to Greece against unprovoked attack by Turkey. Great prominence is given in all the papers to these reports, and to-day it is alleged that in consequence Turkish Government have decided to accept arbitration as proposed by Greece.

[E 4558/92/44] No. 42.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 375.)
Sir, *Constantinople, September 5, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 367 of the 29th August last, I have the honour to enclose an extract* from to-day's "Millet" which, in view of that newspaper's semi-official character, can probably be taken as reflecting the present attitude of the Turkish Government towards the Turco-Greek dispute. The Angora correspondent of the "Millet," it will be seen, criticises the latest Greek note on the ground that it claims the restitution of Hellenic properties while refusing to restore Turkish properties, that it declines to pay the sum agreed upon, and that it omits to name the questions to be submitted to arbitration, and, in short, that it contains no basis for agreement.

2. The Turkish reply is at this moment under consideration. It is to be feared that to-day's "Millet" foreshadows a refusal to continue negotiations.

3. I have sent a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4559/274/44] No. 43.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 376.)
Sir, *Constantinople, September 5, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 29th August last my French colleague signed a treaty of commerce and navigation with the Turkish Government to replace the commercial convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne.

2. I have as yet been unable to obtain the text of the treaty but I understand that it provides for reductions on some 158 articles in the new Turkish customs tariff.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4591/92/44] No. 44.

British Delegation, League of Nations, to Foreign Office.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 3. (L.N.A.))

THE British delegation to the League of Nations present their compliments, and have the honour to transmit copies of a record of conversation between Sir Eric Drummond and M. Venizelos. The Prime Minister saw this record of conversation before he met M. Venizelos on the 3rd September.

British Delegation, Geneva,
September 6, 1929.

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* Not printed.

Enclosure in No. 44.

Extract of a Record of Conversation between Sir E. Drummond and M. Veniselos.

(Confidential.)

M. VENISELOS came to see me yesterday and discussed :—

(1)

(2.) We then spoke about Greek relations with Turkey. The Turks had now proposed that arbitration should take place by the neutral members of the Mixed Commission, the third member of that committee being now appointed for the purpose, but that arbitration should be limited to the question as to whether Greece or Turkey had violated the Lausanne agreements. M. Veniselos explained that he knew quite well that Greece had violated these, but it was ridiculous to have an arbitration on such a point, because a declaration as to the different violations would not in any way advance matters. He therefore had suggested that there should be added to the arbitration the question of what procedure should be followed in order to liquidate the questions at issue arising out of such violations. He feared, however, that the Turkish Government might not accept these proposals. The Turkish Government had now repaired the "Goeben." This ship was vastly superior to anything which the Greeks possessed and he was being pressed to buy the 'Salamis,' in order that Greece would again be stronger than the Turks on the sea. He was most unwilling to do this, as it would most certainly lead to an armed competition between the two countries, with disastrous financial results. Did I think that if the Turks, as a result of the failure of the negotiations, threatened Greece with naval action, he could rely on the League if he put the whole affair in its hands? He realised that the League might not be able to give great assistance on land, but he thought the case different on the sea.

I said to him that the position he had taken up seemed to me to be extremely wise and, as far as I was concerned, I felt convinced that if really the whole question was referred to the League, and the Turks began to take any naval action threatening a Greek island, he might rest assured that such action would not in any way be permitted by the Council. If it were, the League would have to proclaim itself a failure. Personally, I did not believe for a moment that the Turks would think of such action, because they would realise the forces which would be opposed to them.

M. Veniselos replied that he was very glad to have my view and he hoped to talk the question over with Mr. MacDonald and, if he received a similar expression of opinion, he would explain to his public opinion that he intended to rely on the League and not start a building competition with Turkey.

E. D.

September 2, 1929.

[E 4668/92/44] No. 45

Consul Patteson to Sir R. Lindsay.—(Received September 10)

(No. 110. L.N.)
(Telegraphic.) R *Geneva, September* 10, 1929

FOLLOWING from Sir A. Willert for Mr. Leeper :—

"You may deny story that any spokesman of the British delegation has given Greece private assurance that she may rely on the protection of the British fleet if attacked. In conversation with the press, we have stressed the absurdity of supposing that His Majesty's Government in view of their constant support of the League and of their stand against private war in any form whatsoever, as instanced by their suggestions for amendment of Covenant, could in any circumstances contemplate private arrangements of the nature supposed."

[E 4613/92/44] No. 46

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 10)

(No. 219)
(Telegraphic.) R *Athens, September* 10, 1929

MY telegram No. 217

Greek press publishes to-day reports from Geneva stating that M. Veniselos has expressed himself as fully satisfied with the results of his conversations with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the British delegates, as well as with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and that he is now perfectly at ease in his mind as to immunity of Greece from any danger of unprovoked attack by Turkey.

As regards naval armament, M. Veniselos is reported to have pronounced himself against the purchase of "Salamis," but to favour increased air force and purchase of smaller craft.

[E 4692/274/44] No. 47.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 11)

(No. 351. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, September* 11, 1929

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of the draft commercial convention which my American colleague has kindly given to me, with the request that it may for the present be regarded as entirely confidential.

2. Mr. Grew is at the moment negotiating this convention in Angora, and I gathered yesterday from the counsellor of the American Embassy that the prospects of its being accepted by the Turks were hopeful. If this does happen, I can only envy the American Ambassador, for in my humble opinion a simple comprehensive treaty such as this is a very satisfactory form of commercial agreement. Apart from the fact that many weary hours of argument and discussion over the exact bearing of words and phrases are saved, it seems to me that it is in practice easier to fit special cases that may arise hereafter into the general meaning of a comprehensive treaty than to devise an instrument which shall cover every foreseeable case.

I have, &c.
GEORGE H. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 47.

Draft Convention.

THE United States of America and the Turkish Republic, desirous of maintaining and furthering their commercial relations and of defining the treatment which shall be accorded in their respective territories to the commerce and shipping of the other, have resolved to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation, and for that purpose have appointed their plenipotentiaries :—

The President of the United States of America

The President of the Turkish Republic :

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in due form, have agreed upon the following articles :—

ARTICLE I

In respect of import and export duties and other duties and charges affecting commerce as well as in respect of transit, warehousing and other facilities, and the treatment of commercial travellers' samples, the United States will accord to Turkey and Turkey will accord to the United States, its territories and possessions, unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment; and in the matter of issuing licences for, or the placing of prohibitions or restrictions on, imports or exports, each country will, so far as it may at any time employ such methods, accord to the commerce of the

other treatment as favourable, with respect to commodities, valuation and quantities, as may be accorded to the commerce of any other country.

No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into or the disposition in the United States, its territories or possessions, of any articles the produce or manufacture of Turkey than are or shall be payable on like articles the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country.

No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into or the disposition in Turkey of any articles the produce or manufacture of the United States, its territories or possessions, than are or shall be payable on like articles the produce or manufacture of any foreign country.

Similarly, no higher or other duties shall be imposed in the United States, its territories or possessions, or in Turkey, on the exportation of any articles to the other or to any territory or possession of the other, than are payable on the exportation of like articles to any other foreign country.

Every concession with respect to any duty, charge or regulation affecting commerce now accorded or that may hereafter be accorded by the United States or by Turkey, by law, proclamation, decree, treaty or agreement, to the products of any third country will become immediately applicable, without request and without compensation, to the commerce of Turkey and of the United States and its territories and possessions, respectively.

The stipulations of this article do not apply—

(a.) To the treatment which the United States accords or may hereafter accord to the commerce of Cuba or of any of the territories or possessions of the United States; or to the commerce of the Panamá Canal zone; or to the treatment which is or may hereafter be accorded to the commerce of the United States with any of its territories or possessions; or to the commerce of its territories or possessions with one another or with the Panamá Canal zone.

(b.) To such special advantages and favours which Turkey may accord in the matter of the customs tariff affecting products originating within the territories separated from the Ottoman Empire following the war of 1911 or to the treatment which Turkey may accord to purely border traffic within a zone not exceeding 15 kilometres wide on either side of the Turkish customs frontier.

(c.) To prohibitions or restrictions of a sanitary character designed to protect human, animal or plant life, or to regulations for the enforcement of police or internal revenue laws.

ARTICLE 2.

(a.) In all that concerns the vessels of the United States and Turkey respectively, with the exception only of those engaged in coastwise traffic, the principle of national treatment shall be maintained by each country toward the other country.

(b.) In all that concerns the vessels of the United States and Turkey respectively, including those engaged in coastwise traffic, the principle of unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment also shall be maintained by each country toward the other country.

ARTICLE 3.

The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at as soon as possible. It shall take effect at the instant of the exchange of ratifications and shall remain in effect for a period of five years and thereafter until one year from the date when either of the high contracting parties shall have notified the other of an intention to terminate it: provided, however, that the obligations of paragraph (a) of article 2 hereof may, after one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications, be terminated by either party on ninety days' written notice and shall cease sixty days after the enactment of inconsistent legislation by either of the high contracting parties.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done in duplicate in the English and Turkish languages at Angora this day of , nineteen hundred and twenty-nine.

[E 4893/4198/65] No. 48.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received September 16.*)

(No. 387.)

Sir, *Constantinople, September 11, 1929.*

RECENT events in Palestine have naturally not passed unnoticed in Turkey, but they have not formed a chief object of interest in the Turkish press, which has for the most part assumed an attitude of malicious detachment. No desire has been shown to bring the country once more under Turkish rule (even by way of a mandate), but the opportunity has not been let slip to compare the results of European imperialist government with the good old days of Turkish suzerainty.

2. For the rest, there has been the usual search for base motives on Great Britain's part, both for the whole policy of creating a national home for the Jews and for her action during the present trouble. As regards the latter, we are represented as having expressly created the trouble on the old principle of *divide et impera*, the successful pursuit of which has, it is asserted, been the secret of our long rule in India.

3. As for the merits of the dispute between Arabs and Jews, Turkish sympathy seems to incline rather to the Arabs. It was noticeable that a report that Jewish notables in Constantinople were subscribing and sending relief to Palestine was quickly denied by the Grand Rabbi, and the Embassy has so far been spared any attentions on the part of the local Jewish population.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 4725/92/44] No. 49

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received September 17.*)

(No. 23.)

Sir, *Athens, September 12, 1929.*

IN confirmation of my telegrams Nos. 217 and 219 of the 9th and 10th September, I have the honour to state that the Athens press on the 8th and 9th September published reports under prominent headlines announcing the conclusion, or the imminent conclusion, of an Anglo-Greek agreement, whereby the protection of the British navy would be guaranteed to Greece in the case of an unprovoked attack by Turkey. The reports were telegraphed by the Greek correspondents at Geneva, where the negotiations were stated to have been conducted between yourself and Mr. MacDonald on the one side and MM. Venizelos and Michalacopoulos on the other. The reports indicated that the agreement would be under the aegis of the League of Nations and that, in fact, Sir Eric Drummond had assisted at its negotiation.

2. On the 11th and 12th September the *démenti* issued by yourself in the form of a statement to the "Morning Post" and the "Daily Mail" was widely reproduced in the Greek papers.

3. The original report was of such an unexpected nature that it took the Greek public completely by surprise. From the first, with a sense of realism unusual in Greek journals, there was an inclination to mistrust the truth of the reported agreement, on the ground that it represented too wide a departure from traditional British policy. The report, which was the subject of generally sympathetic articles, was, in fact, largely discounted at the start, and so the prompt publication of the *démenti* has created no serious reaction.

4. It is rather difficult to account for the origin of these reports. A prominent official at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs whom I saw yesterday was at pains to assure me that the Ministry had had nothing whatever to do with them and that they much regretted the production of such foolish and fantastic reports which led to the inevitable reaction which in turn reacted unfavourably on Greek negotiations with Turkey. I am inclined to accept this view and to exonerate Ministers and officials in Athens from any responsibility. Of the position in Geneva I am naturally unable to speak, but it is incredible that responsible statesmen like M. Venizelos and M. Michalacopoulos should

lend themselves to the dissemination of inaccurate information which must be at once disavowed.

7. The only explanation which occurs to me is that in the course of the discussions on strengthening the Covenant fresh emphasis may have been laid on the readiness of Great Britain to allow her naval forces to be employed as part of the contribution of the League towards a victim of unprovoked attack. The Greek negotiations with Turkey being at a critical stage and Greek correspondents being what they are, a general undertaking by Great Britain to afford naval assistance to any member of the League if attacked was quickly reduced to a particular application to Greece in the case of attack by Turkey. Further likelihood is given to this explanation by the fact that M. Venizelos was known to be investigating the nature of the guarantees which Greece could expect from the League in the event of attack in connexion with the decisions which have to be taken on his return in regard to the "Salamis" and the building of two destroyers (see my despatch No. 423 of the 12th September).

8. I have forwarded a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY

L 6256 5119 405] No. 50

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 393.)
Sir, *Constantinople, September 16, 1929.*

WITH reference to your circular despatch of the 22nd August last I have the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum on the system of electoral representation in vogue in the Turkish Republic.

2. The system of double election by which the Turkish nation delegates its sovereign rights to the Grand National Assembly would seem, on paper to follow the principles generally in use in modern democracies. Borrowed from Europe in models, it has been applied, with few adaptations, to a semi-oriental people, whose twenty years familiarity with its workings has done little to grant it any solid roots in the country.

3. In actual fact the Turkish electoral system is probably the most complete and most unabashed negation of democratic government to be found in a modern republic to-day. The elections not through any natural enthusiasm of the electorate, but through the driving power of the Government party. This organisation, known as the People's party, exercises such an iron control of the electoral machine that it must be considered as the real electorate of the country. Since the disappearance of the Progressive party four years ago, there has been no Opposition. The present Grand National Assembly is composed solely of members of the People's party.

4. This state of affairs has been brought about without any overt tampering with the electoral system. The stolidity and apathy of the Turk and his innate devotion to a strong and established régime, as well as the initiative and prestige of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister—at the same time president and vice-president of the People's party—have obviated the necessity of any recourse to racks, thumbscrews or bribery. In every country town and large village exist offices of the People's party, through which the political ideas of Angora are advertised and explained to the people, in varying degrees of sincerity or sluggishness. In such a manner the representative system functions in Turkey as a support of the Government, rather than as a frank indication of the opinions of the people.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 50.

Electoral System in Turkey

THE electoral system in operation in Turkey is defined by the Electoral Law and the Organic Statute, passed by the Grand National Assembly on the 3rd April, 1923, and the 20th April, 1924, respectively. It originates, however, in the Electoral Law of 1909, promulgated by the Imperial Ottoman Parliament after the establishment of the Constitution of 1908.

The electoral unit is the vilayet (formerly the sanjak); there are sixty-five vilayets in the Turkish Republic. Each vilayet returns Deputies to the Assembly in proportion to its population, viz.:—

One Deputy per 20,000 adult males (should a vilayet contain less than 20,000 electors, a Deputy may still be returned).
One Deputy for 30,000
Two Deputies for 30,001–50,000
Three Deputies for 50,001–70,000
Four Deputies for 70,001–90,000,

and so on in the same ratio.

The representative system is based on double election, primary elections being held in the caza or commune. One secondary elector is chosen per 200 primary voters, the number increasing proportionately, as in the case of the table given above. The primary elections are controlled by the communal council under the supervision of the vilayet.

All males of 18 and over may vote, but a Deputy must have attained the age of 30.

Civil servants (teachers, priests, judges, mayors and public prosecutors may not stand for election in the localities where they carry on their professions, unless they resign two months before the election. Foreigners, persons employed in foreign employ or illiterate, or person who has lost his civil rights or has been sentenced for abuse of confidence, theft, &c., is ineligible for election. Officers of the army, navy and air force must relinquish their rank if they wish to stand for Parliament.

Elections take place every four years, while the Assembly meets every year at the beginning of November. No Deputy may absent himself from the capital for more than six months in the year, nor may absent himself from the Assembly for over two months, unless he can produce an adequate excuse. The penalty in both cases is compulsory retirement.

Each Deputy has to consider himself not merely the representative of the vilayet, but the embodiment of the nation. The Assembly is the sovereign power, therefore the Deputy has certain privileges and obligations. He is not, for example, responsible for opinions expressed inside or outside the Assembly, and he may only be impeached for crime or misdemeanour by a plenary sitting of the Chamber.

As the sovereign power, the Assembly elects the Head of the State. The President of the Republic is nominated every four years, and chooses his Prime Minister from among the members of the Assembly. The Prime Minister, in turn, designates the Cabinet, all of whom must be Deputies.

[E 4858/92/44] No. 51.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 392.)
Sir, *Constantinople, September 17, 1929.*

MR. HARVEY has been good enough to send me copies of his despatches Nos. 423 and 429 of the 12th instant concerning the promise of naval assistance alleged by the Greek press to have been made to M. Venizelos at Geneva. I am glad to be able to report that this rumour seems to have been taken at its proper value here. It was duly recorded in most of the local newspapers of the 12th instant, but without any comment, and on the next day the local press reproduced from the Greek press your own denial to the "Daily Mail."

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 4870 92 44 No. 52

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 225.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, September 23, 1929*

MY telegram No. 214.

Turkish reply was delivered to Minister for Foreign Affairs on Saturday.

Reply, which is lengthy and has not yet been published, is stated to contain refusal to accept general arbitration as proposed by Greek Government, but to repeat declaration of Turkish Government that they must take their stand on Treaty of Lausanne and subsequent agreements and their original proposal of partial arbitration.

The view is expressed here that the fresh negotiations can hardly be more successful than the previous ones.

It is understood negotiations for commercial *modus vivendi* are proceeding satisfactorily.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

E 4889 92 44 No. 53

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 24.)

No. 227.)
Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, September 24, 1929*

MY immediately preceding telegram.

Text, which is published to-day, is being forwarded by bag.

Refusal to accept Greek proposal of general arbitration is based on ground that this would be tantamount to assigning to arbitrators task of drawing up fresh stipulations to replace those contained in existing international agreements, whereas any modification of such instruments lies within sole competence of the two States and can only be achieved by direct negotiations. Turkish Government profess themselves [illegible] which they claim to be able to fulfil whereas Greek Government have admittedly been unable to fulfil them, refuse even to accept them as basis for discussion, and that this was the reason why recent negotiations broke down. Unless Greek Government are prepared to accept this basis, further direct negotiations would serve no useful purpose. Turkish proposal for partial arbitration, which is renewed, would merely fix responsibility for non-execution of treaties in the past and assess the financial aspect whilst leaving intact international engagements. As regards the future, Turkish Government must leave to mixed commission the task of assuring exact fulfilment of exchange convention, which provides for rational and perfectly applicable solution of all questions connected with exchange.

It is stated here that Greek reply, which will be short, will declare that direct negotiation for liquidation of outstanding questions having produced no positive result and general arbitration having been refused, Greek Government are obliged to invite intervention of League of Nations. Reference to League will be made after despatch of reply to Turkish Government and question will be examined by Council in January.

(Copy by bag to Constantinople.)

E 4982 92 44 No. 54.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received September 30.)

(No. 338.)
Sir, *Constantinople, September 24, 1929*

WITH reference to Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 375 of the 5th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the note* which the Turkish Government has now addressed to the Greek Government on the subject of the disputes connected with the exchange of populations. It is a little difficult to follow the precise argument through the mass of verbiage, but the general meaning is plain enough. The

* Not printed.

complaint is repeated again and again that Greece has not fulfilled her obligations. It is said that Greece alone stood to benefit by the Angora negotiations. It is asserted also that the negotiators contemplated a payment by Greece being the first step in any settlement. Turkey's readiness to restore Greek properties, subject, of course, to reciprocity, is repeated with all solemnity. In conclusion, the note rejects the Greek proposal for arbitration on the whole situation, and repeats the Turkish suggestion that the Mixed Exchange Commission should enquire as arbiters into the non-execution of the existing agreement.

2. The note therefore carries things no farther. But it is at any rate satisfactory that its tone is moderate, whereas the Turkish press has been complaining again of the treatment of Turks in Greece and has for the first time suggested that Greece should take her 90,000 Greeks from Constantinople and let Turkey have her 102,000 Moslems. The Angora Government evidently hopes that Greece will be forced to make the next move.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

E 5046 92/44] No. 55.

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 3.)

No. 241.)
Sir, *Athens, September 25, 1929.*

WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 225 and 226 of the 23rd and 24th September, relative to the reply of the Turkish Government to the last note of the Greek Government (see my telegram No. 214 of the 30th August), I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of the Turkish note in the French language as published in the semi-official 'Messager d'Athènes.'

[illegible] to the situation, and incidentally the trump card in the Turkish hand is the inability of the Greek Government to restore to their owners the Turkish properties, situated principally in Epirus, belonging to Turks who were still living in territories of Greece before the crucial date of 1912, and are therefore entitled by the Treaty of Lausanne to the full restitution of their properties. These properties are now settled with refugees, and the Greek Government have pointed out that their return to their owners is a practical impossibility. The Turkish Government insist in their note that they are perfectly justified in taking their stand on the *status quo* provided by the treaties and in declaring the Greek Government to have failed in the discharge of their treaty obligations.

4. The Greek proposal for general arbitration was unacceptable for the following reasons: Arbitrators could only base their decisions on the juridical *status quo* created by the treaties. A new *status quo*, admitting the inability of the Greek Government to restore the above-mentioned Turkish properties and releasing them from their obligation to do so, could only be created by direct negotiation between the contracting parties. It could not be effected by an arbitral award, as was apparently the Greek intention.

5. Negotiations with a view to modifying the existing treaty dispositions had been in progress at Angora. The Turkish Government were perfectly satisfied with the treaties and had agreed to enter into negotiations merely with a view to rendering Greece's position easier. Such negotiations could only be undertaken on the basis of the recognition by both parties of the existing legal *status quo*. Departure from this attitude, it was impossible for them to contemplate, and Turkey therefore asked the latter to take her stand on the strict interpretation of the treaties.

6. The only points to which arbitration could rightly be applied were those which did not affect the validity of the treaties, and the Turkish Government were perfectly prepared to accept arbitration with a view to determining the responsibility for the non-execution of the treaties, its financial implications and the best means of obviating its non-execution.

* Not printed.

7. The argument, therefore, is as follows: Greece is in default; she can only get out of this position by coming to terms with Turkey; arbitration is inapplicable to this case, Turkey is willing to resume negotiations on the basis of the recognition by Greece of the *de jure status quo* and of her legal obligation to meet engagements which in practice she cannot meet. In other words, she must throw herself on the mercy of Turkey and accept whatever terms she can get. Up to the present she has been trying to get the Turkish Government to admit as a basis for negotiation the impossibility of her fulfilling her contractual obligations and to present the Turkish Government, when they refuse to accept this basis, as being responsible for the present impasse. The Turkish Government, sure of the legal unassailability of their position, decline to recede an inch except as a result of negotiation on their own terms.

8. In a leading article on the subject, the semi-official "Messager d'Athènes" does not attempt to combat the Turkish arguments. It suggests however that the Turkish rejection of general arbitration, as proposed by Greece, must be based on the fear that the results of such arbitration would be unfavourable to Turkey. For if her position were really unassailable, Turkey would have nothing to fear from arbitration. "Must we then go on marking time indefinitely?" continues the article. "Direct negotiation has failed, and the position is now such that a decision can be taken only by a third party. Other States have submitted their disputes to arbitration and have accepted the result, whether favourable or the reverse. Why should not Turkey do so? Greece has the right to appeal to Geneva even if the other party to the dispute does not agree to this course. Apart from this, there are in certain [illegible] formal treaty dispositions between Greece and Turkey which make [illegible] appeal. Turkey has undertaken to observe these clauses and to accept the verdict of the competent tribunal."

9. In another column the "Messager d'Athènes" states that the Greek reply to the Turkish note will be brief, and will aim at closing the discussion. It will point out that direct negotiation having failed, and the Turkish Government having refused arbitration on the points in dispute, the Greek Government [illegible] intervention of the League of Nations to settle the matter. The League of Nations will be approached after the despatch of the Greek reply to the Turkish Government, it is added, and the question will be examined by the Council of the League at its January session.

10. I have forwarded a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY

[E 5047/92/44] No. 56.

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 3.)

(No. 115)

Sir, *Athens, September 26, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to state, with reference to my despatch No. 429 of the 12th September, that I was received to-day by M. Michalacopoulos, who, speaking in confidence, proceeded to explain to me how the press reports telegraphed from Geneva of an Anglo-Greek agreement guaranteeing Greece British naval assistance against Turkey had their origin.

2. Although the facts will naturally be familiar to you, I venture to place M. Michalacopoulos's account on record to prevent future misunderstandings.

3. His Excellency began by explaining that in 1921, when he himself was President of the Council and had to consider the question of the "Salamis," he had obtained from Admiral Webb a most valuable professional report, which had convinced him that Greece would be well advised to refuse to take delivery of the ship, but to concentrate on the construction of destroyers and submarines. Two years later a conversation had taken place at Geneva between M. Michalacopoulos and Sir Eric Drummond, when the latter had represented the unfortunate [illegible] the "Salamis" would have if taken over by Greece, because Turkey would then be obliged to re-equip the "Yavouz" and a competition in armaments would begin. M. Michalacopoulos had taken up the point and asked whether, in the event of Greece not pursuing a policy of naval armament in competition with Turkey, she could count

on effective naval assistance of the League in case of unprovoked attack. Sir Eric Drummond had replied, speaking as Secretary-General of the League, that Greece could count on such support, but that in the event of a refusal of support by certain States, the matter would be left to the League. Subsequently, in 1927, the "Salamis" case had come before the League in connexion with the interpretation of Articles 190 and 192 of the Treaty of Versailles.

4. M. Michalacopoulos had recently acquainted M. Venizelos with this conversation and suggested the advisability of his refreshing Sir Eric Drummond's mind in the matter. M. Venizelos had done this and the purport of the original conversation had been confirmed. M. Venizelos had subsequently approached Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Cecil and had asked them whether Greece might count on the moral support of the British navy, acting on behalf of the League of Nations, in the event of unprovoked attack or threat by Turkey. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Cecil had been reluctant to commit themselves to any such definite undertaking, but had refused and they had satisfied M. Venizelos by intimating in most general terms that if Greece suffered an unprovoked attack and if the League decided to take action Great Britain, as far as could humanly be foreseen, would be willing to take part in [illegible] measures of protection. M. Venizelos had been satisfied with this [illegible], so far as the Greek Ministers were concerned, the matter would have rested.

5. Unfortunately, M. Michalacopoulos explained, and as perhaps was inevitable where the nature of such a conversation had been known to a number of persons, the correspondent of the "Hestia" had got hold of the story and telegraphed to his journal that an agreement between Great Britain and Greece had been reached whereby it was understood that the protection of the British navy would be afforded to Greece in case of attack by Turkey. This report was further elaborated and misunderstood in the Athens press and retelegraphed to London, where it led to a personal attack on yourself in the "Daily Mail" and a general demand for information as to what had been done. His Excellency was particularly distressed at the personal [illegible] which the attack had taken, especially as you had not been present at the [illegible]. He had, therefore, at once drafted a communiqué denying [illegible] and brought it to you for your concurrence. After [illegible] with you it had been decided to publish the communiqué, which [illegible] amended in one or two minor respects at your request, and there the matter had rested.

A copy of the communiqué, as published in the "Journal de Genève," was [illegible] by M. Michalacopoulos and is now enclosed.*

6. I said that I had already come to the conclusion that the reports must have arisen in some such circumstances as he had outlined. I regretted, however, that certain organs of the Greek press had misrepresented the facts still further and interpreted the *démenti* as a rebuff administered by Great Britain to M. Venizelos and myself, and I was very relieved to hear that there had in fact been no misunderstanding whatever between Mr. MacDonald or yourself and himself and M. Venizelos. His Excellency assured me wholeheartedly that this was the case, and the subject was dismissed.

7. I then said that I observed that Greece intended to bring her difficulties with Turkey before the Council of the League and enquired in what form it was proposed to do this. His Excellency said that negotiations with Turkey would continue for ten years if not now brought to a term. Turkey recognised the competence of the League of Nations in the matter, and in the last resort the right of appeal which was reserved to the League [illegible] necessary article of the Covenant could be invoked, since the [illegible] Turkey to hesitate, might easily become a danger to peace.

8. Negotiations in this sense with the Greek Government have not yet decided on [illegible] method by which the assistance of the League will be invoked.

A copy of this despatch has been forwarded to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY

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* Not printed.

[E 5132 479 44] No. 57

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 7.)

(No. 405.)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 3, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, according to information received through the Deutsche Bank, the Berger group, which is at present engaged on the construction of the Kutahia-Tavshanli and Boghaz-Keupru (Cæsarea) Uia Kishla lines, has made proposals to the Turkish Government in connexion with the construction of a railway from Sivas to Erzerum.

2. The construction of this line has been for some time past in the forefront of the Government's programme of future public works undertakings, but although, as reported in my despatch No. 388 of the 16th August, 1929, the Fox Brothers' Corporation made a provisional offer to construct the line, the negotiations fell through and hitherto no other foreign group has shown any great degree of interest in the line.

3. The Berger group is reported to have proposed to the Turkish Government that the terms of payment for the Sivas-Erzinjan-Erzerum line should be on the same basis as in their existing contract.

4. To cover the cost of the Kutahia-Tavshanli and Boghaz-Keupru (Uia Kishla lines, the Turkish Government borrowed from a German banking consortium a sum of 63 million gold marks which was placed at the disposal of the Government and lodged with the Deutsche Bank in the form of a current account. This advance is to be repaid in eight years and carries interest at the rate of 8 per cent. plus 2 per cent. bankers' commission. The contractors are paid from this account for all work done on the basis of cash and bonds in equal proportions, and they have undertaken to complete both lines within a period of three years.

I have no information as to the probable cost of the Sivas-Erzerum lines, the length of which has been estimated to lie, according to the various routes proposed, between 478 and 538 kilom.

6. The Berger group have worked smoothly with the lines they are at present constructing, and there have been no serious disputes between them and the Turkish Government. For this reason it is to be expected that the Government, disillusioned by the failure of the negotiations for the fourth instalment of financial readjustment demanded by the Swedes, will be prepared to give a favourable reception to any new proposals put forward by the Germans.

7. The Sivas-Erzerum line was included in the Government's programme of railway construction to be covered by the loan of £T. 240 million authorised by the law of the 29th May last (my despatch No. 263 of the 5th June last), and it is practically certain that the Government will cede the construction of the railway to any foreign group which makes a satisfactory offer, should the present negotiations break down.

8. I understand that the Swedish and German groups have no reason to complain of the fulfilment of their contracts, as the Government has so far met its obligations regularly.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5133, 274, 44] No. 58.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 7.)

(No. 406.)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 3, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the Italian delegation for the Turco-Italian commercial negotiations, whose departure for Angora I reported in my despatch No. 227 of the 22nd May, has now returned from the Turkish capital.

2. Before leaving for Rome, Commandant Anzilotti, Inspector-General of the Italian Ministry of Commerce and head of the delegation, informed the commercial secretary of His Majesty's Embassy that treaty negotiations had for the moment been suspended owing to Cabinet and other changes in Rome and because he himself wished to discuss a number of points with his Government.

3. Commandant Anzilotti said that he had succeeded in obtaining a reduction of 20 per cent. on some sixty articles classified under various headings in the Turkish tariff, but that he was not altogether satisfied with this reduction, more especially as regards cotton goods, which are, of course, of special interest to British trade. He also informed Colonel Woods that his delegation had furnished the Turkish negotiators with a memorandum on shipping wherein certain conditions were laid down, namely, that—

(*a*.) Lighthouse dues levied on Turkish shipping should not be less than those levied on foreign vessels;

(*b*.) Vessels be allowed to use their wireless in territorial waters; and

(*c*.) Agents and their staffs be granted free access on board vessels to carry out their duties.

4. The Turks have verbally agreed to the conditions (*b*) and (*c*), but Commandant Anzilotti anticipates that there will be some difficulty as regards (*a*), as the Turks contend that vessels engaged in sabotage have the right of claiming low rates in return for the carriage of Turkish goods.

5. Pending the signature and ratification of a treaty of commerce and navigation, Italy has been granted most-favoured-nation treatment by virtue of a *modus vivendi* agreement signed in August last.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5134, 274, 44] No. 59.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 7.)

(No. 407. Very Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 3, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 384 of the 11th September last, I have the honour to report that the commercial convention between America and Turkey was signed at Angora on the 1st instant.

2. My American colleague has just returned from Angora and is going on leave to-day. He has been good enough to give me a copy of the English text of the convention, which I have the honour to enclose herein in advance of any analysis of its contents, which I am obliged to postpone until next week as I have only just received the document and the bag is on the point of closing.

3. Mr. Grew particularly begged that the fact of his having given me this text should be kept most confidential, and, above all, that no indication whatever should be given to the Turks that it was in our possession.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 59.

Final Text for Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

THE United States of America and the Turkish Republic, desirous of maintaining and furthering their commercial relations and of defining the treatment which shall be accorded in their respective territories to the commerce and shipping of the other, have resolved to conclude a treaty of commerce and navigation, and for that purpose have appointed their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America:

The President of the Turkish Republic:

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ARTICLE 1.

In respect of import and export duties, including surtaxes and coefficients of increase, and other duties and charges affecting commerce, as well as in respect of transit, warehousing and customs formalities, and the treatment of commercial

travellers' samples, the United States will accord to Turkey and Turkey will accord to the United States, its territories and possessions, unconditional most favoured nation treatment.

Therefore, no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into or the disposition in the United States, its territories or possessions, of any articles the produce or manufacture of Turkey than are or shall be payable on like articles the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country.

Similarly, no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the disposition in Turkey of any articles the produce or manufacture of the United States, its territories or possessions, than are or shall be payable on like articles the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country.

Similarly, no higher or other duties shall be imposed in the United States, its territories or possessions, or in Turkey, on the exportation of any articles to the one or to any territory or possession of the other, than are payable on exportation of like articles to any other foreign country.

Any advantage, of whatsoever kind, which either high contracting party may extend to any article, the growth, produce or manufacture of any other country, shall immediately and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to the like article the growth, produce or manufacture of the other high contracting party.

The stipulations of this article do not apply—

(a.) To the treatment which the United States accords or may hereafter accord to the commerce of Cuba by virtue of the customs tariff of the commerce of any of the territories or possessions of the United States; or to the commerce of the Panama Canal Zone; or to the treatment which is or may hereafter be accorded to the commerce of the United States with any of its territories or possessions; or to the commerce of its territories or possessions with one another or with the Panama Canal Zone;

(b.) To such special advantages and favours which [illegible] may hereafter accord in the matter of the customs tariff to goods originating within the countries detached in 1923 from the former Ottoman Empire; or to the treatment which Turkey may accord to persons engaged in traffic within a zone not exceeding 15 kilom. wide on either side of the Turkish customs frontier.

Article 2

In all that concerns matters of prohibitions or restrictions of importation or exportations each of the two countries will accord, whenever it shall have to establish such prohibitions or restrictions, to the commerce of the other country treatment equally favourable to that which is accorded to any other country.

The same treatment will apply in the case of granting licences in so far as concerns commodities, their valuations and quantities.

Article 3

(a.) Turkish vessels will enjoy in the United States of America and vessels of the United States of America will enjoy in Turkey the same treatment as national vessels.

(b.) The stipulations of article 3, paragraph (a), do not apply—

(1.) To coastwise trade (cabotage) governed by the laws which are or shall be in force within the territories of each of the high contracting parties;

(2.) To the support in the form of bounties or subsidies of any kind which is or may be accorded to the national merchant marine;

(3.) To fishing in the territorial waters of the high contracting parties or special privileges which have been or may be reciprocally granted, in one or the other country, to products of national fishing;

(4.) To the exercise of the maritime service of ports, roadsteads or harbours as to pilotage and towage, nor to diving; nor of maritime assistance and salvage; so long as such operations are carried out in the respective territorial waters, and for Turkey in the Sea of Marmara.

(c.) All other exceptions not included in those mentioned above shall be subject to most favoured-nation treatment.

Article 4

Nothing in this treaty shall be construed to restrict the right of either high contracting party to impose prohibitions or restrictions of a sanitary character designed to protect human, animal or plant life, or regulations for the enforcement of police or revenue laws.

Article 5

The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Ankara as soon as possible. It shall take effect at the instant of the exchange of ratifications, and shall remain in effect for a period of three years and thereafter until one year from the date when either of the high contracting parties shall have notified the other of its intention to terminate it; with the reservation, however, that the obligations concerning national treatment contained in paragraph (a) of article 3 hereof may after one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications, be terminated by either party on 3 months' notice and shall cease sixty days after the enactment of legislation necessitated therewith, the above mentioned national treatment obligations by either of the high contracting parties.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Ankara in duplicate in the English and Turkish languages, which have the same value and will have equal force this [illegible] day of [illegible], 19[illegible].

E 5264 474, 44 No. 60.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received October 15.*)

(No. 409.)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 8, 19[illegible].*

I HAVE the honour to transmit the accompanying copy of a despatch in which His Majesty's consul at Trebizond reports that a Russian steamship arriving unexpectedly at the little Turkish harbour of Rizeh on the 25th ultimo was very thoroughly searched for contraband by the local authorities. The action taken by the Turks in forcing all the passengers, including the Russian consul-general at Trebizond, to leave the ship while the search proceeded was so drastic that it can hardly have been taken except on orders from Angora. During the course of last month the Turkish press was loud in its complaints of the treatment meted out in Russia to exports from Turkey and of the "molestation and torture" suffered by inoffensive Turkish residents in Russia. The incident at Rizeh was perhaps a storm in a little retaliation.

2. I enclose also two extracts* from a report which Mr. Matthews has made of a tour in the Rizeh district. They show that smuggling in the frontier zone is rife and that the Turks allow refugees from Russia to establish themselves in the vilayets near the frontier.

3. In another despatch Mr. Matthews reports that in the town and immediate neighbourhood of Rizeh the authorities have succeeded in putting down the brigandage which has been rampant for a year [illegible] troops are still being employed against [illegible] Mr. Matthews thinks it possible that Russia had [illegible] to [illegible] the brigandage at the outset, but he is not convinced that this was afterwards the case.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

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* Not printed.

E 5265 5265 44 No 61

Sir C Clerk to Mr A Henderson (Received October 11)

(No 451)

Sir *Constantinople, October 8, 1929*

I HAVE the honour to report that the venerable Ecumenical Patriarch Basil III died at the Phanar on the 20th ultimo, after a reign of four years. In the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate such a reign measured at times is quite a great, and a period during which its occupant sat on the patriarchal throne is on its way to a record. In fairness to the deceased Prelate, however, it should be stated that he was a man who had little difficult craft after the storm and stress of the war and who has successfully weathered the subsequent processes.

2. By force of circumstances the Ecumenical Patriarchate is now stronger than all of the successive powers and it has thus retained much of its local importance. With the Orthodox Faith it has always through the creation of numerous Churches in all countries of the world, and after more than 1,500 years of existence it is still a guiding force for Orthodox communities the world over. From the purely religious point of view, however, its local prestige is not what it was.

3. Moreover the Patriarchate probably has not a large fund of resources and good relations with the Turkish authorities. Until recently it owned the land on which several of the more important churches and schools stand, and whatever may have been the basis of these claims, the Turks have not in many cases hesitated from time to time to take back by force what they had previously granted by firman. Both the Turkish Government and the Orthodox Patriarchate have in the past been interfering in each other's affairs, and it is doubtful if there will ever be a day of future cordiality between the Vatican and the Greek Orthodox Church, which represents in the Near East the Church of Rome. Apart from the point of view of religion, the Turks do not like the Greeks, whom they look upon as foreigners, and whatever may be the outcome of the present negotiations between Angora and Athens, the Turkish attitude towards the Patriarchate is not likely to change for the better.

4. It is against this background that the election of a successor to Basil III must be viewed. Constantine VII, the late Patriarch's predecessor, was elected by a group of the Patriarch's own flock, but the choice of the Holy Synod, which consists of the heads of foreign missions of the Orthodox Church, was confirmed by the Turkish Government. The latter, with the exception of the years of the war, when Patriarchs have merely been reported to the Angora authorities, have always had the right to veto the election of a candidate who was not to their liking, with the result that the Patriarchate has become a political tool in the hands of successive governments.

5. The election of the new Patriarch took place yesterday in the manner described in my despatch of the 27th September, and after having passed off quietly and peacefully, by the arrival this morning of the Archbishop of Athens and other metropolitans constituting the Holy Synod, the Vicar of Christ was elected Ecumenical Patriarch and the title of Basil III was conferred upon a prelate who was born at Imroz 55 years ago. He was educated at the Orthodox Theological School at Halki and later at the universities of Athens and Constantinople. He is one of the youngest of the Metropolitans, and as regards his Synodal colleagues, he is therefore to a large extent an unknown quantity. He is said to be a man of considerable personality, and this, it may be, will count in his favour in the difficult days which lie ahead. His return will in any case be duly notified to the Turkish Government. There is no reason to believe that they will be glad to see the back of the Greek Patriarch.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have &c.
GEORGE R CLERK

E 5266 5266 44 No 62

Sir G Clerk to Mr A Henderson (Received October 14)

(No 452)

Sir *Constantinople, October 9, 1929*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the memorandum which Mahmoud Bey left at the Foreign Office on the occasion of his visit to Geneva, setting out Turkey's attitude to the League of Nations. Mahmoud Bey explained orally to Nearly Turkish views as yet but that Turkey would join the League of she could be sure of a place on the Council, and he deplored the idea that if Turkey should join she would be regarded as a Oriental Power.

2. Mahmoud Bey's remarks may be taken as a tentative and are therefore of some significance. They go to show that the policy of leaving Turkey to make up her mind about joining the League is being successful. Little by little she is drawing nearer, but as I have suggested before her real decision is likely to depend on her relations with Russia and on Russia's attitude to the League.

I have &c.
GEORGE R CLERK

Enclosure in No 62

Extract from the Matin of October 8, 1929

UN IMPORTANT ARTICLE OF MAHMOUD BEY

Notre retour au Chef-lieu de l'Internationale. La Turquie et son Attitude vis-à-vis de la Société des Nations

MAHMOUD BEY, Député de Smyrne, ancien Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Turquie, nous a fait l'honneur de nous écrire la lettre suivante :

Quelques importants articles que j'écrivais sur la politique générale de la Turquie, dans différents journaux de la province, ont attiré sur moi l'attention de la presse parisienne. Plusieurs journaux m'ont demandé de leur envoyer quelques articles sur la politique générale de la Turquie. Je me suis empressé de satisfaire à leur désir. Mais, comme je ne suis pas journaliste de profession, je me suis contenté de leur envoyer quelques articles sur la politique générale de la Turquie, sans me préoccuper de la forme littéraire de ces articles.

Après avoir lu ces articles, plusieurs journaux parisiens m'ont demandé de leur envoyer quelques articles sur la politique générale de la Turquie, sans me préoccuper de la forme littéraire de ces articles. Je me suis empressé de satisfaire à leur désir. Mais, comme je ne suis pas journaliste de profession, je me suis contenté de leur envoyer quelques articles sur la politique générale de la Turquie, sans me préoccuper de la forme littéraire de ces articles.

Mahmoud Bey souligne ensuite la politique générale de la Turquie, qui a toujours été celle de la paix et de la sécurité internationale. La Turquie a toujours été un pays pacifique, qui a toujours cherché à maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationale. La Turquie a toujours été un pays pacifique, qui a toujours cherché à maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationale.

E 5271 86,44 No 63

Sir G Clerk to Mr A Henderson (Received October 14)

(No 458)

Sir *Constantinople, October 10, 1929*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the local press of the 1st instant announced the arrival at Constantinople of certain M. [illegible], a director of the Zurich branch of the Swiss Credit Bank.

2. M. [illegible] said to have been charged with the [illegible] Bank to submit to the Turkish Government in connexion with the proposed [illegible] of the bank at Istanbul.

3. [illegible] arrangements have been made for the [illegible] Bank to open a branch here, which [illegible] established. M. [illegible] was reported to have left for Switzerland on the 3rd instant, but I have the honour to report that he has not yet left Constantinople, and I have the honour to request that [illegible] calculated [illegible] the [illegible] summary.

... the commercial secretary has learnt from a confidential source that the Société de Banque suisse has advanced 1,500,000 Swiss francs to the Ish Bankasi, and that the visit of M. Izzi is connected with this advance, for, in some instances, it is the practice when a loan is made to a banking institution, that some knowledge of its organisation and methods should be acquired.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5593/92/44 | No. 64

Mr. A. Henderson to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople).

(No. 608)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 25, 1929*

THE Turkish Ambassador called this afternoon to communicate to me the annexed memorandum in regard to Turkish dispositions towards Greece and the reports which had been given currency that His Majesty's Government had promised ... effective military aid to Greece in the event of any unfortunate developments. After having read the memorandum I informed the Turkish Ambassador that there was no ... whatever for the report that His Majesty's Government had concluded any such convention with Greece, nor was the question of such a convention in contemplation.

I am, &c.
ARTHUR HENDERSON

Enclosure in No. 64.

Memorandum.

I HAVE already had the honour of informing his Excellency the Secretary of State that the very basis of our foreign policy consists in assuring, in an entirely pacific spirit, the economic development of Turkey coupled with her progress along the path of civilisation.

I am happy to have to-day the opportunity of emphasising once again the pacific sentiments that Turkey entertains towards all the Powers.

The policy which we pursue towards all neighbouring States is above reproach. We nourish the same sentiments towards Greece.

In spite of these tendencies, which proceed from a common desire for peace, the pretext of the negotiations concerning the questions of the exchange of populations and the refitting of the cruiser "Yavuz" has been utilised in Greece, not only to publish ... but to ... for statements to the effect that Turkey is ... a menace for Greece the effective and military ... Unable to conceal our profound astonishment at such reports.

If, pursuant to the Treaty of Friendship which binds the present relations of England and Turkey are guarantees of the fidelity of these ... which do not rest on any foundation, and that His Majesty's Government ... to ... cordial relations with Turkey ... I have to point out that ... Article 6 of the Treaties ... It is nevertheless true that ... unfortunate ... the policy of the British Government.

It is for this reason that, while refusing to accept the ... of these reports, it would give me great satisfaction to learn from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if ... the object of determining—

(*a*) Whether there does ... what are the principal ...

(*b*) And whether the conclusion of a convention of this nature is in contemplation.

Turkish Embassy, London,
October 25, 1929.

E 5545/5419/44 | No. 65

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 28.)

(No. 427)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 23, 1929.*

I HAVE thought it best to reserve for treatment in a separate despatch the attitude of the Turkish press towards the recent visit to Turkey of the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

2. All Turkish newspapers are very strictly controlled in the sense that they do not venture to publish anything which their editors feel would be unpalatable to ... authority. Even so ... more or less guided as to ... the official view more strictly than others. So far as these are concerned, editorial comment on the visit has been markedly absent. Like other newspapers, they published full details of the official programme, reported the doings of the ... since its arrival, and duly reproduced photographs of ... rather higher ... tourist ...

3. As with other newspapers, the Athens press furnished, even before the arrival of the British squadron, a good handle for comment. As far as I can ascertain ... Greek press circles, it was Athens regarded the visit to Turkey as a ... sweet ... put in the Greek press that the British fleet would guarantee ... against unprovoked attack, presumably from Turkey. The Greek overtures ... upon with avidity by the press of Stamboul, which proceeded to give ... manners and courtesy to its neighbours. Except for an article in the ... however, the exchange of compliments was of no particular interest.

4. The "Vakit" article was thoroughly sensible. It reminded the Greeks ... they need not necessarily have the monopoly of British friendship in the East ... that ... that had been ... creation of the diplomatic ... Mr. Lloyd George had ... during the armistice. It must, however, the journal went on, be recognised that from the date of the Mosul Treaty British policy towards Turkey had been strictly correct, a policy which could be considered as the beginning of a new era of friendship between the two countries. The visit of Admiral Field could be ... as ... of the important ... which ... since 1923. Further ... Vakit's ... Press, ... only a sympathetic ... of the President, ... all trends of peace. ... circumstances it was regrettable that the Greeks were so little acquainted ... populations on which peace is built that they could not hide their jealousy when a sign of friendship between Great Britain and Turkey became manifest.

5. It was to some extent surprising that the "Daily Telegraph" report of the ... conclusion of an Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship moved the press much less than it did my colleagues. The report was of course reproduced in all newspapers with just enough comment to show that the Turks would like nothing better but Ankara quickly damped their ardour by letting it be known that His Majesty's Government did not conclude treaties of that nature.

6. The most important press ... appeared, however, on the day after the departure of Admiral Field in the "Akshm" under the signature of Nemeddin Sakik Bey, its chief editor and a leading Deputy. At no time can this ... of pro-British ... have ... better had to say. ... interesting. After referring to the ... stay of the ... Turkish waters ... the ... Turks with ... Queen Elizabeth ... all that has been ... between the ... countries ... Sakik ... forget ... For it is to help the cause of peace, ... Turks were ... British ships. After periods of trouble ... it becomes easier ... more sincere. That was why the British ... Land why the people of the town and of Turkey had given ... guests. ... that the Commander-in-Chief went to ... that he had been received by the Ghazi and had talked with the ... made the visit far more than an ordinary ... Admiral Field ... the first foreign officer to be received by Turkey's great leader, a mark of esteem which had clearly much touched him.

7. All Turks, Sadik Bey continued, had been much impressed by the sincerity of the ... gratitude. Such contacts as had taken place were the foundations of

friendship between our countries. There was no doubt that the new feelings created on both sides would have important effects on the public opinion of both countries and would give a great impetus to the development of their future relations on a sound basis. There was no friction between the two countries and therefore nothing to prevent this development.

5. Republican Turkey, the article concludes, which covets no territory, which has no desire for expansion and which is merely concerned with her reconstruction and development, is the strongest and most sincere peace factor in the East. Her foreign policy is to be one of sincere friendship with all those who are sincerely disposed. For all these reasons we greet this visit as a happy prelude to a new era of close relations between Great Britain and Turkey.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Angora.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5546/5419/44] No. 11

Sir G. Clerk (Angora) to Mr. Eden (Received October 28)

(No. 128)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 23, 1929.*

IN the misty darkness of a wet December evening in 1925 the first survivor of the British Naval Mission, H.M.S. *Ceres*, turned at her anchor and left the Bosporus. We remained for the preceding two years the Western fleet down supreme. Many a month's training of the Turkish people and of Turkey's Navy-in-Arms must pass before that establishment was to be seen again. Great British ships would in those waters be but rare visitors. The departure of the 12th Cruiser Squadron, flagship Mediterranean Station, Vice-Admiral Sir Ernest Field, K.C.B., M.V.O., in H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth*, and his squadron, consisting of H.M. ships *Courageous*, *Wryneck*, *Swan*, *Veteran*, *Wanderer* and *Bryony*, into the Bosporus, he once more to put the British flag on the Turkish waters, and with the good will of the Turkish people, it seemed fitting that in these circumstances the twelve years' gap since 1925 should have given place to bright morning sunshine as the squadron moved to its anchorage off the towering palaces of Dolmabagtche and Beshiktash.

2. As the visit of Admiral Sir E. Field was of a formal nature the greater part of its time was necessarily taken up with official ceremonies. On the morning of his arrival, immediately after the exchange of visits with the senior Turkish naval officer, the Commander-in-Chief called officially on the Vali and Acting Prefect of Stamboul, on the Army Commandant of the IIIrd Army Corps and on myself. These calls were promptly returned and in the afternoon Admiral Field received the representatives of the Turkish and foreign press, to whom he spoke of his satisfaction at visiting Istanbul, and of his hope that the visit would help to consolidate the existing friendly relations between Great Britain and Turkey. In the evening I gave a dinner and ball at the Embassy in honour of the admiral and his officers. A feature of the ball which attracted much particular attention and much gratified me was the presence for the first time at an Embassy or Legation in Pera since the foundation of the present régime of a considerable number of Deputies and of prominent Turks. This is due more primarily to the special nature of the occasion, and secondly, to the recent bettering of work on the new Embassy at Ankara.

3. It was, fortunately, that on the night of the 12th October the weather broke and that heavy rain fell during the next three days. Except however for the laying of a wreath on the Monument of the Republic at Taxim, which had to be postponed, the programme arranged for those days was not seriously interfered with. On the 13th October Embassy staff attended a luncheon given by the Vali in honour of the admiral, of whom, as the official atmosphere grew perceptibly warmer, I later on the evening had the honour of being entertained by his Chief of Staff, Flag Captain Cyril Hall, R.N., the senior naval officer present, and by myself and three members of my staff, left for Angora.

4. At Ankara station Sir E. Field was received with full naval honours and immediately afterwards proceeded to the Angora Palace Hotel, where the Royal or Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, President of the Turkish Republic, had graciously ordered that suites should be reserved for him and his staff, and where rooms had been prepared for the admiral and his officers. The Ghazi's invitation to the admiral to be his guest during the visit to Angora was in accordance with the usual practice when visits of naval officers of high rank are paid to Angora, and was intended to show the importance which the Turkish Government attached to the visit of the British squadron.

5. On the morning of the 14th October the admiral and I called on the President of the Council, Ismet Pasha, and on the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for National Defence. The latter of whom had an opportunity of renewing his English learnt in the course of a lengthy stay at Malta during the armistice as the guest of His Majesty's Government. For this, however, he seemed to bear no grudge and was, after a better form than I have ever seen him, most entertaining. The admiral and I dined with the Ghazi at the Palace, where were also present the Chief of the General Staff, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for Defence, the Secretary-General of the Presidency, the Chief of the Naval Staff, the Aide-de-Camp on duty and the Ghazi's adopted daughter. The Ghazi was in his most genial mood and the conversation turned on the Navy, of which he showed himself a keen student. On the British squadron's visit to Ankara he remarked that it was a most friendly act and that he was very glad to see the ships in the Bosporus.

6. On the 15th October we visited the President of the Council, whose reception of us was most friendly. After a short interview, during which we discussed in general terms the subjects to be dealt with during the visit, I left Admiral Field and the Minister for Foreign Affairs to continue the conversation, which I understand was chiefly concerned with the Turkish point of view on the Mosul question.

7. The remainder of the visit to Ankara was spent quietly. In addition to the Prime Minister, I called on the Ministers for Finance, Public Works, Agriculture, Commerce and Education, and on the President of the Chamber of Deputies.

8. The programme of official visits by the British officers was spent mostly in Angora, but before making the round of the Ministries I had the pleasure of a short visit from Admiral Field, during which I congratulated him on the success which had attended the visit of the squadron to Angora, and on the excellent impression which the behaviour of officers and men had created.

9. The programme of official visits by the British officers was spent mostly in Angora, but before making the round of the Ministries I had the pleasure of a short visit from Admiral Field, during which I congratulated him on the success which had attended the visit of the squadron to Angora, and on the excellent impression which the behaviour of officers and men had created.

10. Except for the ceremonies on arrival at Haidar Pasha on the morning of the 16th October that day and the next were almost wholly devoted by Admiral Field to enjoyed a well-earned rest, varied with exercise on the local golf course. Ever so however, the morning of the 17th witnessed the return from manœuvres of the Turkish fleet. Visits were exchanged and in the evening the naval command had given a three-hour banquet of far too many courses in honour of the Commander-in-Chief.

9. Next to the visit to Ankara the most important events on the official programme were the ceremonial displays given by the officers of H.M.S. *Courageous* on the mornings of the 18th and 19th instant. On the former day and in perfect weather thirty aeroplanes gave a display of formation flying and of aerobatics over Stamboul, Pera and Scutari, which excited the admiration of all and they were loud in their praise of the pilots, who were, indeed, to all appearance. Nothing of the kind had been seen in Constantinople before, and when at the conclusion of the display the aeroplanes formed a perfect crescent with the *Courageous* in the centre and in couple formation of five, the whole scene, with the Bosporus for a background, was enthusiastic.

10. Later in the day the admiral and myself visited the Naval School at Halki where a tea was given in the admiral's honour. A crowded day, rose with

an official dinner on board H.M.S. "Queen Elizabeth," followed by a most successful ball, thronged by Turks, the Diplomatic Body and the British colony.

11. Excellent weather favoured the second aviation display on the morning of the 19th October, which took place in the Sea of Marmara. The Turkish military authorities were so anxious that officers should attend this display that, in view of the limited accommodation available, they had to be asked to reduce numbers. In the result, well over one hundred officers, as well as many leading Turks, were taken on board H.M.S. 'Courageous' and her attendant destroyers, where they witnessed a display which cannot fail to have left on them a profound impression of the organisation and efficiency of the fleet air arm, and, afterwards, of the generous hospitality which characterises the officers and men of His Majesty's navy.

12. In the afternoon the Vali gave a tea party at his private house in honour of the admiral. This function, commonplace enough in appearance, was, in fact, one of the most noteworthy incidents of the visit, though it needs a knowledge of modern Turkish mentality to realise it. In the first place, it was not part of the original Turkish programme, but a spontaneous outburst of private hospitality on the part of the Vali, induced by the genuine pleasure given him by the visit. A Vali is a high Government official, but he would never have manifested his feelings in this way or incurred this expense unless he was both himself genuinely pleased and I am sure that his action would be smiled on by the highest authorities. Another remarkable feature connected with the party, which included an exhibition of old Turkish dancing in national dress, the singing of Anatolian folk songs and the playing of Turkish melodies on the peculiar instruments appropriate to such, was that, for the first time in my experience, it was really a party where everyone, Turks included, were enjoying themselves, and not a function which [illegible] to leave as soon as decency allowed.

13. The last official ceremony of the visit took place on the morning of the 20th instant, when Admiral Sir F. Field laid a wreath on the Monument of the Republic. Ceremonies of this nature are little known in Turkey and it may be that in the first instance, curiosity attracted many of the thousands who were present. Curiosity, however, gave way to other feelings when the Commander-in-chief, and when the band of the Royal Marines played the National Anthem of the Turkish March of Independence, [illegible] mingled with a few "Yashas" ("Long live!"), broke out from all parts of the large crowd. The complete success of the visit had been definitely proved, and when, a short time later, Sir F. Field again received the press he did not [illegible] to what he sincerely felt. He spoke with satisfaction of the success of the reception which had been accorded to him, of the happy memories which he and his officers were taking away with them, and of the hope that the fleet would soon and often return to pay visits of a more private nature. Later in the afternoon the squadron sailed for Greek waters.

14. Though I fear that this despatch is even already [illegible] I cannot close it without paying a tribute to the [illegible] and Royal Marines who entertain and amuse the officers and men of the squadron. That [illegible] they have had to contend with, both they have had to [illegible] of their efforts to [illegible] successful success [illegible] of a body of British subjects [illegible] relations [illegible] trust, all founded—that the visit itself may be an augury of better times [illegible].

15. Finally, I do not exaggerate when I say that the remarkable success of the visit has been due above all to the personality [illegible] Commander-in-chief, supported by the excellent impression made by the [illegible] men of His Majesty's ships. Certainly the Turkish Government [illegible] visit as an outward sign of [illegible] with the British Empire. But, beyond that the temperature was distinctly cool, and the best that I hoped for was that Turkish ignorance or lack of tact would not prevent the visit from passing off in a way that could be [illegible] successful. But, from the moment that Admiral Sir Frederick Field came in contact with the Turks, the temperature rose perceptibly, and by the end of his visit here he had become a [illegible] respected figure. Whether the effect of the visit is to be [illegible] future, but for the moment British stock stands higher in Turkey than it has [illegible] any time since the armistice.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5547/5419/44] No. 67

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 28.)

(No. 429.)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 23, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 428 of to-day's date I have given a record of the various events which marked the visit of the Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Fleet to Turkish waters. That visit has been an undoubted success in all its outward features, but the question whether it has a deeper significance than an exchange of formal courtesies and outward demonstrations is difficult to answer.

2. When the Minister for Foreign Affairs suggested the possibility of such a visit in May last I was [illegible] struck [illegible] the improvement in our relations, but I was not unduly elated, for I knew that Tevfik Rüstü Bey is apt in the enthusiasm of the moment to go rather further than he himself on reflection intends or than is approved by his colleagues and rivals in the Cabinet. As the [illegible] was [illegible] by rumours of the carefully concealed [illegible] to attack the Ghazi and the Prime Minister, for I felt that the [illegible] demonstration of the growth of friendly relations between Turkey and ourselves had originated with Tevfik Rüstü, had been, doubtless, warmly approved and backed by Ismet Pasha, and accepted readily enough by the Ghazi when it was suggested to him. But should the differences between the President and the Prime Minister come to an open breach, I feared lest the Ghazi, who is nothing if not personal in his resentments would include in his dislike for the Prime Minister a dislike of his policy. When, therefore, shortly before the visit was due an attempt was made on very inadequate grounds to postpone it, it seemed to me that my fears might be justified. It was then with mixed feelings that I awaited the arrival of the British squadron on the 12th instant, the more so as it coincided with a break in the weather [illegible] rain and wind and mist combined to quench any enthusiasm that might exist.

3. However, from the moment of Admiral Sir Frederick Field's arrival it was clear that the Turks were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] was in them to do so, and I was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Minister [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the Vali [illegible] Ghazi could not [illegible] [illegible] Constantinople, the Gazi [illegible] [illegible] his arrival at Angora had to be helped from his carriage by two people, and I was therefore glad to see him a few days later looking vigorous and healthy and anxious to give the admiral a genuine welcome. His method of doing so is peculiar to himself, for when he wishes to unbend and to show that he is at ease and wishes his guests to feel the same, he embarks on a monologue on human and national conduct, and lays down the principles upon which a people should conduct its affairs if it is to develop its civilisation to the utmost of its capacity. It was such a monologue to which his Excellency warmed up on the occasion of his reception of the admiral, but the wisdom of his observations was perhaps less valuable than the fact of his making them, for his doing so was his method of showing that he was pleased by the admiral's visit and its significance as regards the relations between the two countries.

4. The Ghazi having definitely struck the note from the moment the admiral and I left his room the temperature became almost visibly warmer and the remaining days of the visit were marked at Constantinople by a steadily increasing cordiality, mounting almost to enthusiasm. But even though the President of the Republic gave the note, the chorus would not have swelled so high but for the impression made by the personality and charm of the Commander-in-chief himself and the qualities of the officers and men in the squadron. I cannot adequately measure the part played by Admiral Field in the success of the visit. I can only say that he met a situation that was in reality none too easy in a manner that compelled [illegible] admiration. We could not have been more fortunate in the representative chosen.

5. I [illegible] said, however, to my mind at least, be conveying a false impression if I led you to believe that the visit of the fleet has at one stroke renewed the traditional friendship between Great Britain and Turkey. What was supposed and pleased me has been the extent to which the suspicious and the undemonstrative Turks have let themselves go. The visit marks a definite advance along the path of friendship, but complete trust in our sincerity has still to be achieved.

8. Public opinion, so far as it exists in Turkey, is reflected in the press, though one must also allow for the care of the press to reflect in questions of foreign policy only what it considers to be the mind of the Ghazi. I have reported on the press at length in my despatch No. 427 of to-day, and need say no more here than that its attitude has been, while correct enough, very cautious and has to that extent reflected Turkish public opinion. Some of the Government are more and some less friendly to us, and the vast majority of the former but the policy of the Government as a whole has not yet risen above or the other and public opinion and the press have not had the definite lead which their obsequiousness desires.

7. In short, an opportunity that had to be seized when it offered, but which at the same time bristled with traps, has been successfully taken and we have given full expression to the sincerity of our policy and its friendliness as regards Turkey. The visit marks a stage in our relations with this country where we may hope that, if there is no set back (bitter pen crossed out) (bitter pen crossed out) war have been obliterated. This is all to the good but time and patience are still needed before Turkey looks towards us with complete confidence and genuine friendship.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 5549 109 44] No. 68

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 28.)

No. 427.

Sir, *Constantinople, October 2[illegible] 1929.*

M. [illegible]nch colleague paid me a visit this morning, ostensibly to congratulate me on the success of the visit of the British squadron, but in reality to give vent to certain preoccupations arising in his mind out of our proposed new Establishment Convention.

2. M. de Chambrun explained that, when considering how to negotiate the Franco-Turkish Treaty of Commerce, he had purposely rejected the idea of dealing with it with a new Consular and Establishment Convention, partly because the Treaty of Commerce was only to be for a short period, whereas he proposed to conclude a Establishment Convention for at least ten years, but mainly because he had in the Treaty of Commerce to attempt to secure numerous tariff reductions from the Turks and he felt that the moment would not be favourable for obtaining generous conditions as regards establishment. While he was sure that in the question of an Establishment Convention I was fighting for the same principles as he would shortly be trying to maintain, he felt that the interests of France were in certain points, though similar in nature, considerably greater in extent and of more importance to France than ours were to us and admitted to a certain fear lest our Establishment Convention when concluded might prejudice the [illegible]

3. I told my French [illegible] that the Treaty Government had always the right of selling the pass for the sake of rounding-off our treaty negotiations. Our position was quite simple. We had had to negotiate a commercial treaty of a general nature, based on most-favoured-nation treatment, and we had had to consider whether it would not be more convenient to take one line at the cherry and conclude at the same time a [illegible] special Convention instead of waiting for the Lausanne Convention to expire in 1931. While it might be argued that in the course of the next two years Turkey would ripen in economic experience and would be readier to give reasonable conditions in 1931 than she was in 1929, my own view had been that this was very doubtful and that we were more likely to secure reasonable conditions for the residence and commerce of our nationals in Turkey if we made them part of the general settlement which Turkey was anxious to reach, the more so as she would welcome anything to shorten the life of the Lausanne Residence Convention. I had therefore offered to Turkey to abolish the Lausanne Convention and to include in the Treaty of Commerce clauses governing [illegible] But I had made it as clear as I could that this offer was contingent on the Turkish Government giving satisfactory guarantees in regard to certain institutions and individuals whose rights are protected under the Lausanne Convention. The form of the guarantee was comparatively speaking, immaterial, and I was prepared to trust the good faith of the Turkish Government without seeking to tie it down by the clauses of a formal treaty. But what I could not do was to jettison prematurely the rights of British subjects, even though those rights might have only two years to run. Such action on my part

would expose His Majesty's Government to attack and might even result in Parliament refusing to ratify the treaty.

4. The degrees I sought to protect were five [illegible] five British churches, two British hospitals, the various and valuable [illegible] and a dozen [illegible] commercial houses whose business was all [illegible] who were as a matter of convenience, registered in London as British companies. I suppose that it was the churches, schools and hospitals which particularly [illegible] Monsieur Chambrun, and I said that the Turkish delegation had undertaken that the Turkish Government would, on application being made to them, issue general permits whereby the continued and unhampered existence of these institutions would be ensured, provided always that they respected the laws and regulations of the country. So far I had not seen the form of permit, although the necessary application had been made, and of course everything depended on the permits being satisfactory.

5. M. de Chambrun asked if I would have any objection to his [illegible] what I said [illegible] suggesting that M. de Fleuriau should [illegible] words as to the special importance to France, with her policy of "intellectual penetration," of the continuance of her schools, &c., in Turkey. I said that not only had I no objection, but that, when I renewed my discussions in Angora, which I expected to do shortly, I would show him any proposed form of permit which the Turks might offer to us, for in kind, if not in degree, it was as much my interest as his to keep our schools, &c., in being.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 5550, 92, 44] No. 69

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received October 28.)

No. 153.

Sir, *Constantinople, October 24, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that, after undergoing extensive repairs for nearly two years in the Gulf of Ismid, the "Yavuz Sultan Selim" (ex-"Goeben") was successfully undocked on the 12th instant.

2. Although the major work of repair has thus been completed, and although the "Yavuz" did during the British naval visit show herself for a short time in the vicinity of Prinkipo, it is not anticipated that the ship will be ready for service for at least another six months, as the installation of a new fire control system has only recently been begun. Further, I am informed that the repairs to the hull, for which the French syndicate is responsible, have not been very efficiently executed, and that the plating and other materials supplied have been of indifferent quality.

3. Nevertheless, the Turks are undoubtedly proud of their old toy in its new and expensive form, and are confident that on trials the vessel will be able to attain her original speed. While this may be so, it is difficult to see how the "Yavuz" can be much more than a white elephant, for Turkey, with all her financial commitments, can hardly afford satisfactorily to keep the ship in commission. Further, even if the necessary funds were forthcoming, the competent personnel necessary must certainly be lacking at least for some years to come. Indeed, I am not at all surprised to hear it remarked that the "Yavuz" will never be seen outside the Dardanelles. In such circumstances Greek fears that the completion of the vessel will constitute a menace to the security of Turkey's neighbour need not, I think, be taken too seriously.

4. I have sent a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 5673 225 44] No. 70

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 483.)

Sir, *Athens, October 24, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 443 of the 25th September relative to the Greco-Turkish negotiations arising from the exchange of populations, I have the honour to report that, according to the press, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, acting on instructions, has made representations to the Secretariat of the League of Nations with a view to the replacement of the late General de Lara by a third neutral member on the Mixed Commission. M. Raphael has been assured that the League will find some fitting occupant for the vacant post.

2. Contrary to the assertions of the Turkish press, it is denied here that the Turkish Government have made any similar request.

3. It is to be hoped that in choosing a neutral member for the Mixed Commission the League will make a more fortunate selection than was General de Lara. With the honourable exception of the Refugee Commission, the record of the League in the matter of appointments connected with Greece has not always been good, and its prestige has declined somewhat accordingly. The neutral presidents elected for the Greco-Bulgar Mixed Emigration Commission are another instance (see Sir Percy Loraine's despatch No. 308 of the 4th July).

4. A copy of this despatch is being forwarded to the [illegible]

I have, &c.

(Signed) OLIVER HARVEY

E 5670 92 44 No. 71

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 456.)

Sir, *Constantinople, October 25, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 433 of the 24th October I had the honour to report upon the completion of the repairs of the "Yavuz Sultan Selim," and I expressed the view that that ship is unlikely to constitute a serious menace to Greece. That Turkey is far from entertaining any aggressive intentions finds emphasis from time to time in the Turkish press. A significant example of such pacific protestations appeared as a leading article in the *Milliet* of the 24th October, in which the editor, Mahmut Bey, who has just returned from Athens as the Turkish representative at the General Peace Congress recently held in that city, expatiated at length upon the folly of believing that Turkey is embarking upon a race in armaments against Greece. Turkey's armaments, he protests, are of a purely defensive nature, and if Greece feels nervous in regard to them the reason lies solely in the fact that Greece seems to have adopted as a fundamental principle that she should dominate the seas to Turkey's detriment. As for the differences which divide the two countries, not only are they of a secondary nature, but the assurances given by leading personalities in Athens indicate that they will be shortly settled. Turkey on her side will certainly show the best will in facilitating agreement. It only remains for M. Venizelos to show the political courage of which he so often speaks and settle the outstanding questions. Mutual confidence will then improve.

2. It is not, perhaps, too much to hope that the friendliness of Mahmut Bey's sentiments may be of good augury for the effort which, one anticipates, will be made to place the relations of the two countries on a better footing as soon as the new Greek Minister to this country takes up his duties in a week or so's time.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British Chargé d'Affaires at Athens.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5818 90/44] No. 72

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 11.)

(No. 440.)

Sir, *Angora, October 30, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 432 of the 30th October last year, I have the honour to report that I and the available members of my staff attended yesterday the official celebrations of the sixth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

2. The events of the day were a repetition of those of last year and need not be recapitulated, though I might mention one or two small points which mark an advance. For instance, instead of being kept waiting in a small and stuffy room for our reception by the President, we were formed up and received ten minutes before the official time and one or two of my colleagues were caught napping. They were rather [illegible] but the rest of us were delighted to experience this development of Turkish [illegible]. Then the seats from which we witnessed the review were placed in a [illegible] commodious covered stand where we could sit through the rather weary hours with a measure of decent comfort. The review itself marked no great departure from that of last year, except that the aeroplanes which manœuvred overhead while it was going on had evidently been diligently practising the evolutions carried out by the aircraft of H.M.S. "Courageous" and flew in very steady and level groups of three and five, a feat which would not have been possible for them last year. The other noticeable feature of the procession was the increased number of school children of Angora of all ages, very simply and tidily dressed and clearly conscious of their share in Turkey's great day. It was noticeable that these children came in for far more cheers and applause from the Deputies' stand and from the general public than did any of the military elements of the procession. I might also include in the improve[illegible] fact that the band this year played twenty bars in turn of three [illegible] of limiting themselves to the March of Independence. The banner given in the evening by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the subsequent ball [illegible] Ank Ojuk were much the same as last year, but better organised and far more [illegible].

3. So far as I have any personal impressions to record, they are that the friendliness of the Turks of all sorts and the warmth of their references to the naval visit took me by surprise. The Ghazi engaged me in a personal conversation of the most friendly nature shortly after dinner and I said that he and the country had meant by their cordial welcome of Admiral Field and the British squadron to show their great appreciation of the compliment to Turkey which the visit implied. He added that there could not have been a better representative of my country on such an occasion than Admiral Field himself. Apart from that, our conversation was of a general nature chiefly concerned with the [illegible] economic development of Turkey and the difficulties to be overcome, and contained nothing of direct political interest, but I have never found the Ghazi so simple and friendly, so clearly desirous to show his appreciation of the relations between our two countries, and so devoid of the Napoleonic pose which has [illegible] present in even his most expansive moments. I am sorry to have to add that he was obviously tired and feeling the strain of the long day of ceremonies and for the first time his most intimate *entourage* admitted to me that he had been overtaxing himself and needed rest.

4. The friendliness of all the other Turkish leaders was as marked as that of the Ghazi. The Prime Minister was even more cordial than usual, while even the grim President of the National Assembly actually came spontaneously to greet me and pledge me in the inevitable glass of sweet champagne. There is no doubt that the naval visit has made a deep impression, and the friendly, almost enthusiastic, greetings which I met with on all sides from the Turkish leaders were, I think, owing to their sudden realisation of the growth of friendliness between the two countries which that visit has demonstrated.

5. In my despatch No. [illegible] of the 14th August last year I said that —

> "It was perhaps not unnatural that the speeches made on this occasion should have referred to the detested period of the Allied occupation of Constantinople. A Deputy and another unofficial speaker used no measured terms in alluding to the Allies' treatment of the city and its inhabitants, and when the Allies are spoken of in this connexion, it is always ourselves who are in mind. It is a fact to be reckoned with that the bitter memories entertained by Turks of all

[illegible]

[illegible] Turkish [illegible] have [illegible], however, [illegible] [illegible] of the Turkish [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

That was true at the time it was written, and I am nearly [illegible] Turks themselves at the development of our relations during the past year [illegible] extent of which neither they nor I would have realised [illegible] had brought it out.

2. I do not mean to convey by this that we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] expect any especial favours in the way [illegible] or supply of materials or provision of technical advisers. For all such things Turkey will still go to what she thinks, unfortunately usually wrongly, the best and the post market, but what it does mean is that the Turks feel that we have [illegible] their policy of putting their house in order and seeking nothing but [illegible] while they for their part can be sure that we have no hidden intentions against Turkey. Ask for nothing better than to be the best of friends with them.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5819/5819/44] No. 73

Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 341)

Sir, *Angora, October 30, 1929.*

WITH reference to the [illegible] leave of my two senior colleagues, the German and Italian Ambassadors, it so happened that during the festivities [illegible] anniversary of the republic I inevitably [illegible] Soviet Ambassador, M. Souritz. Since the rupture [illegible] M. Souritz and I have continued our relations to [illegible] as happened to bring us together, and I was therefore [illegible] coming out of the official shed together.

After the reception of the Diplomatic Body by the President, I was detained by Turkish [illegible] for a few minutes in the building, but M. Souritz deliberately [illegible] instead of going ahead with his [illegible] staff, and walked with me across the [illegible] Ambassador, M. Souritz, upon my congratulating him upon the [illegible] referring to the present [illegible] of our relations. He [illegible] Soviet Government [illegible] Petersburg and my assumption [illegible] that—while at the [illegible] might not be at present [illegible] had [illegible] for [illegible] the [illegible], in order to express his personal congratulations on the success of the [illegible] visit. He said that he was not speaking as the Soviet Ambassador or with [illegible] intentions, for our official relations precluded [illegible] of the sort, but as [illegible] who had resided in Angora for seven years and had studied the Turks closely, he felt bound to say that he had not thought such an event possible in so short a time, and he must pay a tribute of admiration to the skill and correctness of our policy. I replied that this much-appreciated tribute came at a moment when my country was perhaps declining upon the renewal of relations with Russia and, should that decision be favourable, I ventured to hope that he and the Soviet Government would be equally ready to believe in the sincerity of our policy towards Moscow. It would be out of place, I said, for me at this moment to embark upon any political [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], but I would venture to express the personal satisfaction which I should feel, were official relations resumed, in being able to renew with him those interesting conversations which I had enjoyed before the rupture, for, however much our views on various questions had differed, I had always found his Excellency open to discussion, and I had always profited by my talks with him. M. Souritz [illegible] in the same sense, and was good enough to add that he would also like to say that he had very much appreciated the correctness and courtesy of my attitude towards him and Mme. Souritz during the delicate time when we have been unable to know even each other off[illegible].

How far M. Souritz reflects the mind of Moscow it is impossible to [illegible] one of those who profess to know consider that he carries little or no weight, while [illegible] that on the contrary he is [illegible] with considerable respect [illegible] certainly a man of intelligence and [illegible] and always has been a gentleman. He [illegible]

understanding between Bolshevik Russia and Great Britain, and he is, I think, too shrewd to have committed himself to so marked a demonstration unless he were confident that it would be approved by the Government in Moscow. He would not otherwise have risked giving himself away so completely to his staff.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 5820/90/44] No. 74

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 11.)

(No. 342)

Sir, *Angora, November 3, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the new session of the Assembly was opened on the afternoon of the 1st November. The fact that the day was Friday created a precedent which had, I gather, been the subject of serious discussion by the legal pundits, for Friday is by law a holiday. Since the foundation of the republic however, each session has been opened on the 1st November, and sentiment was so strong that the law was overborne to the extent that the President of the Republic delivered his speech, the president, vice-presidents, questors and secretaries of the Assembly were elected, and the Chamber then adjourned till the 4th instant, when the members of the various parliamentary commissions will be appointed.

2. I enclose herein an official translation of the brief speech which was delivered by the Ghazi on this occasion.* As was the case last year, this translation was handed to my colleagues and myself as the President took his seat, and the clearness and [illegible] of the latter's delivery made it easy for me closely to follow the speech [illegible] [illegible] fundamental changes are contemplated in the course of the new session. A vague reference to the possibility of changes in land tenure—a reform which has been canvassed for some time—was warmly applauded, but the announcement of the decision to create a State Bank, and the [illegible] for further subventions for the Seyrisefain Administration—the Ghazi may have had in his mind his new toy at Yalova which has been put in the hands of the State shipping concern—were received in silence. Loud applause greeted the reference to the armed forces of the republic, while those to the labours of the Ministries of Health, Public Instruction and Public Works were almost equally well received.

3. The Ghazi's reference to foreign affairs was as brief as possible in order not to spike the guns of Ismet Pasha, who will give to the Assembly on the 9th November his annual review of the year, nor to steal the thunder of Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who tells me that he will deliver a full-dress speech when he presents the estimates of his department to the Assembly. But though the Ghazi's words were few, they elicited loud cheers which were most marked when he said that the idea of peace was the fundamental basis of Turkish foreign policy.

4. For some time in Constantinople, and occasionally here, the air has been thick with rumours, with which I have not thought it necessary to trouble you, of Cabinet discussions and of changes which would certainly be announced at the opening of the Assembly. Ismet Pasha, whose health is none too good, was to disappear, taking with him his Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose stock had weakened as a result of failure of his Greek policy. From our point of view the loss of these two would certainly be deplored, and I have been relieved to feel the rumours of the gossips dispelled by the general atmosphere of tranquillity which prevailed the day before yesterday.

5. I do not mean to say that there is no [illegible] [illegible] important developments at an early date [illegible] of the question. The reports which have reached me—there is for instance the question [illegible] Ismet Pasha should resign the Constantinople mandate on which [illegible] so as to [illegible] the Presidency of the Republic [illegible] [illegible] within the last few days come from such good sources that I cannot altogether ignore them. They have indeed reached such a pitch as to call for an official denial, in leaded type in to-day's "Hakimiet-i-Millieet." For the moment, however, I do not take them at their face value but prefer to await the delivery of Ismet Pasha's speech after which the air should definitely become clearer.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

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* Not printed.

[N 5149/280/38] No. 75.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr A. Henderson.—(Received November 11.)

(No. 443.)

Sir, *Angora, November 3, 1920.*

IN the course of an interview yesterday on current business with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, his Excellency made certain references to Russia and Afghanistan which may be of passing interest.

2 During my recent stay in Angora, various colleagues have pointed out to me, what I had already expected and noticed, a certain swing of the Turkish pendulum towards Moscow, just to soothe any uneasiness that might be felt there at the cordial reception given to Admiral Field and the British squadron. Tevfik Rustu evidently wanted to reassure me in this respect, and he brought the point up by telling me of three important visits that he was expecting in the near future.

3 First of all, there was Count Volpi, a personal friend and an outstanding financial authority, on whose wise counsel the Turkish Government placed great reliance. Tevfik Rustu gave me to understand that the Government was waiting for Count Volpi's visit in order to settle the final plans for the creation of a State bank next spring. The next visit was that of M. Walko, the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, purely one of international friendship and courtesy. Lastly, there was Mr. Knabenhorst, whom Tevfik Rustu knew intimately, and with whom he hoped to have many interesting discussions.

4 The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that Chicherin had the greatest mind of those who directed Russia's foreign policy, but he was a very sick man, and at the moment Russia's foreign policy was entirely in the hands of Litvinoff and Karahan, Litvinoff taking Europe and America, and Karahan Asia, each of them pursuing an independent policy. Litvinoff was all for entering into relations with the Western Powers and ending Russia's isolation, while Karahan considered that Russia was big enough to suffice for herself, and though she did not seek to isolate herself from the other Powers, it was for those other Powers to approach Russia and accept Russia's terms. He looked on Russia as an Asiatic Power and held as the basis of his policy close and friendly relations with China. The two countries were essential to one another, and Karahan felt that both countries understood this and that such incidents as the present situation in Manchuria were only passing breezes of no intrinsic importance. Such a view does not seem likely to make relations between Great Britain and Russia any easier, and Tevfik Rustu admitted that this was a difficulty in the way of those good relations between the two countries which he professed to consider essential to the peace and progress of the world.

5 The thought of Great Britain and Russia in Asia led his Excellency to speak of Afghanistan. The Turkish Government is in close touch with Kabul, and has, I gather, already been approached by Nadir Khan for advice and help. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he had considerable belief in Nadir Khan's sense and capacity, but his Excellency was not going to be at all forthcoming in the provision of Turkish military and other instructors. Turkey could ill spare the few capable people of this sort that she possessed; he was still uncertain as to whether Nadir Khan would succeed in establishing himself definitely, and he did not want the petition of the job of getting a Turkish mission safely out of Kabul. The rivalry of the Afghan tribes was notorious and they were all amply supplied with arms, and any chance rising might easily develop into a movement which would overthrow Nadir Khan. He himself thought that since a peaceful and settled Afghanistan was to the interest of everyone, the really wise course would be for Great Britain, Russia and Turkey, the Powers most directly interested, to join together in helping Nadir Khan to establish an efficient force of gendarmerie—5,000 armed and disciplined men would do—to collect the rifles from the various tribes and establish law and order in the country, but he admitted that this was a counsel of perfection. He had however, pressed on the Afghan Government the fact that Afghanistan required gendarmerie and not soldiers, and he had further sought to drive home the rather harsh truth that Afghan independence depended upon a rigid maintenance of the position of a well-ordered buffer State between Russia and India, free from obligations or engagements to either country.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5382/90/44] No. 76.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr A. Henderson. (Received November 18.)

(No. 453.)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 13, 1920.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith an official translation of the speech read in the Grand National Assembly by the Prime Minister on the 9th instant.*

2 As will be seen, Ismet Pasha dealt cursorily with foreign affairs, making a brief reference to the British naval visit.

3 Turning to home affairs, the Prime Minister dwelt on the economic aspect of the situation. His object seems to have been to reassure public opinion, both here and abroad. I have endeavoured to examine the question myself in my despatch No. 455 of to-day's date. The only new measure foreshadowed by the Pasha was one for distributing a system of peasant holdings. He was careful to add that big landowners would not be prejudiced, and one is left wondering whether under that condition the scheme is practicable.

4 Ismet Pasha was warmly cheered at the end of his speech—he had no doubt informed the Popular party before of the gist of what he was going to say—and obtained the usual unanimous vote of confidence. This seems definitely to rule out the possibility of Cabinet changes such as were rumoured to be impending when I wrote my despatch No. 442 at Angora on the 3rd instant.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 5984/89/44 No. 77.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson (Received November 18.)

(No. 455.)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 13, 1920.*

OPINION about the future of this country, even when most enlightened, ranges from optimism to pessimism. There are few who are unreservedly and consistently either optimistic or pessimistic. But at the present moment disappointing harvests and the critical commercial situation have given rise to so widespread and profound a feeling of pessimism that I have thought it well to endeavour to make in this despatch some analysis of the situation and to try to see how far prevalent misgivings are justified.

2 Unfavourable climatic conditions and short-sighted policy have cast a gloom in financial and commercial circles, causing anxiety for the future. The partial failure of this year's harvests, followed by a further depreciation in Turkish currency, the fear that importers will be unable to pay for the abnormally heavy imports of manufactured goods which were rushed into the country in order to avoid increased customs duties, heavy taxation, and a widespread belief that the Government, striking though its achievements have been in other directions, has been deficient in [illegible] commerce, are all factors contributory to the prevalent feeling of depression.

3 In order to arrive at some approximate estimate of the situation it is necessary to review these factors in their several aspects.

4 As regards crops, the high expectations entertained in the spring of this year have not been fulfilled. Early reports were most encouraging and it was hoped that this year's harvests would compensate in a large measure for those of recent years and particularly for those of last year which, owing to prolonged drought, were little short of disastrous.

5 Various events have combined, however, to disappoint these hopes. As regards cereals, this year's harvest in Anatolia is much better than that of 1919 and is well up to the average of post war years, but, on the other hand, in Thrace the wheat harvest has been very light and it is now certain that it will be once again necessary to import foreign wheat into the country next year. In the late winter and spring of this year 100,000 tons of foreign wheat were imported and, although it is not expected that such large quantities will be required next year, local importers estimate that [illegible] will be exhausted by February

* Not printed.

or March of next year and that [illegible] until July when the new harvests are gathered

6. It should be borne in mind that Turkey, even in pre-war days, was never self-supporting as regards wheat and flour, but imports were offset by heavy exports of barley, amounting in a good year to 250,000 tons, whereas at the present time such exports do not reach 50,000 tons. The dependence of the country on foreign sources of supply of essential food stuffs is a disturbing fact, and is a drain on the wealth of the country which it can ill afford

7. The situation as regards dried fruit is equally unsatisfactory. This year's crops were well up to the average, but owing to heavy rains when the fruit was already ripe, serious damage was done, and out of a total of 75,000 tons of sultanas it is estimated that 25,000 tons were damaged by rain and 10,000 tons totally destroyed. Some damage was also done to the fig crop, but on the other hand, the percentage of rejections by the United States of America the principal buyer of Turkish figs, is appreciably less than [illegible] of last year.

8. As regards tobacco, which is Turkey's principal export, this year's crop is about up to average and amounts to 42,000 tons, but owing to unfavourable weather much of the crop is of poor quality, and in the Samsun district, which normally produces the best and most easily saleable leaf this year's crop [illegible] 4,000 tons (and that of inferior leaf) as [illegible]

9. The hazel nut crop has been [illegible] on the trees in the early summer were estimated at about 20,000 tons but, owing to insect pests the crops were almost entirely destroyed, and the amount of sound nuts available for export is not expected to exceed 3,500 tons. This state of affairs has practically ruined a number of growers and exporters, who are now totally incapable of fulfilling their contracts.

10. There are, on the other hand, some brighter spots in the situation. Thus the output of wool, mohair and opium has been up to or above the average and the cotton crop is definitely better than that of preceding years. In Ismir, the principal producing centre, the crop is estimated at [illegible] against 160,000 bales last year.

11. Considering the outstanding importance of agriculture to the country it is disappointing to find how ineffective the Government has been in assisting its development. Turkey is essentially an agricultural country and its prosperity depend on the success or failure of its crops, and yet agriculture is [illegible] among the State Departments, with no Ministry of its own and a parliamentary vote that is only sufficient to cover administrative charges. The semi-official Agricultural Bank, with a capital of £T 22 million, should be in a position to aid the farmers, but in practice it has diverted most of its capital to industrial enterprises and is of little use to agriculture. The attitude of this bank and of all other Turkish banks to the farming classes has had pernicious results, the farmers [illegible] rates of interest on advances made against their crops, with the result that they are constantly in debt and discouraged. Now the Government is trying to make amends by hastily forming the peasants and farmers to form co-operative societies which, through lack of experience and of funds, are likely to end in disaster.

12. An effort is at last being made to start irrigation works, but valuable as these will be when completed they will not effect a radical cure. The country is under populated. Even so, the peasants barely [illegible] enough corn for their own subsistence, for the abolition of the tithe has not brought the great extension of cultivation which was hoped of it. Production can only be substantially increased by a widespread use of modern methods. Machinery the [illegible] most cases, afford to buy nor does he know how to use it. Chemical manure might be of enormous value. The Turkish Government had a good opportunity of obtaining advice on these matters during the recent visit to Turkey of British agricultural experts interested in chemical manures; whether advantage will be taken of the views expressed by these experts remains to be seen, but an opportunity was afforded to the competent department of realising how essential to the development of agriculture are factors such as those referred to above applied under a comprehensive organisation and expert supervision. But unless the Government arrange for the Agricultural Bank or some other institution to lend money to farmers at a reasonable rate of interest, supply them on easy terms with modern requisites and provide expert advice for their use no radical improvement in the present situation is to be expected.

13. Nor does the problem end here. The Government, and the farmers themselves, fail to realise that the production of good crops is only half the story, the question of marketing to the best advantage is equally important. Cases arise where contracts have been lost simply because European firms could not be sure of obtaining produce of the quality or the quantity they required, even though such produce was available. No organised growers' association exists, nor is there, in most cases, any standardised system of grading Turkish products which would guarantee to the foreign importer that he would receive exactly the class of goods he required. Producers are prone to fix their own prices, irrespective of any consideration of world supply and demand. They hold out for this price until the deterioration of their crops, or the pressure exercised by banks anxious to redeem their advances forces them to sell at less than the prices they were originally offered.

14. It will be seen then that neither this year's harvests nor the agricultural situation as a whole offers much hope of effecting any alleviation of the general stagnation and depression which hang over the country. And yet it is from agriculture almost solely that the wealth of the country comes. Few mines are working, and the reputed great mineral wealth of Turkey is almost untouched, because roads and harbours are wanting, and because there has as yet been no such general [illegible] as to induce foreign capital to provide these things. The vast forests [illegible] Black Sea, although they attract foreign enquiries, are for the [illegible] exploited. Live stock does not suffice even for home consumption and [illegible] only an insignificant export of wool.

[illegible] other kinds of industry, some impetus may have been given by the application of new tariffs and by the law for the encouragement of industries, but the actual results achieved have by no means come up to expectations. According to an official return drawn up under the auspices of the Ministry of National Economy sixty one industrial companies working in Turkey in 1928 with a total capital of £T 16,123,499, to which should be added the Bomonti Brewery with a capital of 2½ million Swiss francs, twenty six working with a capital of £T 9,151,499, made a profit of £T 1,760,833 in 1928 whilst the Bomonti Brewery made a profit of 712,764 Swiss francs. The remaining thirty-five companies with a total capital of £T 7,200,000 [illegible] their balance sheets with a loss in 1928 (though in some [illegible] only to first establishment charges.

16. The fact is that the Turk has neither the experience nor, I fear, the aptitude required to carry on business with much hope of success. It is true that, on the whole, Turkish banks have so far been remarkably successful but this success [illegible] by the Government and to the fact that they [illegible] a [illegible] Foreign firms of most [illegible] industries and [illegible] trade [illegible] the most important Turkish firms have all been in difficulties. Messrs Avedisian Zadé, the biggest importers of textiles, have gone bankrupt; Kir Zadé, the most important Turkish shipowner, is only able to carry on by the goodwill of his creditors, to whom all his ships and other property are mortgaged and Nemli Zadé Freres, the biggest private Turkish firm of tobacco exporters, brought themselves to the verge of ruin by diverting their capital to the construction of a railway from Samsun to Charshamba. The railway was not a financial success and the firm only saved itself from extinction by persuading the Government to buy out all of its [illegible] last.

17. This incompetence is repeated in the numerous Turkish firms of smaller importance which have endeavoured to replace the Greek and Armenian middlemen who were always the backbone of Turkish commerce. Almost invariably these new Turkish firms start business as commission agents, but they have neither the patience, the experience nor the temperament to build up their fortunes slowly in the same way as their Christian predecessors. In most cases they drift away to Ankara, to the detriment of their [illegible] and endeavour to get rich quickly by [illegible] in large contracts. Further some [illegible] morality here has declined of late years. The trader is often influenced by speculation rather than by the letter of his agreements.

18. To turn from production to the present import trade, the situation as it [illegible] gives rise to apprehension. Imports in 1928 exceeded exports by about £T 7 million and during the past six years Turkey's total adverse trade balance [illegible] according to the official returns published by the Customs Administration, to upwards of £T 300 million. In the opinion of M. Jacquart until recently the Director-General of the Statistical Office, the official returns are misleading inasmuch as imports are calculated on the cost of goods delivered to the customs, i.e.,

including transport, insurance and other charges, whereas exports have been valued simply on the cost of delivery to the nearest Turkish port. M. Jacquart's view is not, in my opinion, entirely correct, for he does not appear to have taken bribery and corruption at the customs into consideration. The adverse balance would clearly be greater had a large proportion of imports been correctly declared.

19. There can be no doubt that Turkey has for many years been living beyond her income and the deficit can only have been made up by firms drawing on their capital and by the realisation of their assets, a state of affairs that cannot continue indefinitely.

20. This year these symptoms are presented in an aggravated form as importers, many of whose operations are speculative, brought into the country abnormally heavy stocks of manufactured goods during the months of July, August and September in order to avoid the increased customs duties which were applied as from the 1st October last. A good many of them have been disappointed in their hope of effecting extensive sales, as they entirely overlooked the fact that for a large number of articles, principally cotton and woollen goods, the old tariffs continued to be applied by virtue of commercial treaties which are still in force and buyers are content to wait their time before buying for the winter.

21. Moreover, disappointing harvests have, in many cases, put a check on buying from the interior. Practically all the stocks in Constantinople were bought on credits of four to six months, and, when the bills fall due towards the end of this year, it is feared that a great number of merchants will be unable to meet their liabilities and will go into bankruptcy. In 1927, 572 merchants withdrew from business in Constantinople and, for the period January to September 1928, a further 600 withdrawals have been registered. It is a matter for congratulation that British manufacturers have exercised some restraint and that their commitments are light, compared with those of their Italian, Czechoslovak and German competitors. The commercial secretary has, on more than one occasion, drawn attention to the necessity for caution in respect to trade involving credit.

22. So much for agriculture, industry and trade in general. On turning to Government finance we find a distinctly more cheerful picture. Turkey is at last balancing her budgets. Indeed, although scepticism has not entirely vanished, I think we may trust the statements of actual receipts and expenditure, and of these the last two years published (1924-25 and 1925-26), each show a surplus of £700,000 sterling which, on a total budget of some £20 million sterling, is a very creditable achievement. The Government realises now that the maintenance of its credit abroad is essential. It is contriving to meet its obligations, though not always with the punctuality that might be desired, and I think it will continue to honour its signature in all cases where foreign interests are concerned. But this policy, involving as it does adequate provision [illegible] for the public debt and the Anatolian railways, specifically authorised by [illegible] when the demand for big expenditure on public works is insistent. It is true that as a result of new fiscal legislation and of more drastic administration, the yield of taxation has approximately doubled in the last ten years. But the limit has, by all trustworthy accounts, been reached, indeed there is every likelihood that it will shrink owing to a falling off in customs receipts consequent upon the new tariff; and yet more money is wanted. Military expenditure, of course, absorbs most of what is bled from the country. Of recent years this item has shown a welcome tendency to fall (from about 45 per cent. to about 35 per cent.), but it is impossible to reckon on its falling much lower. On the other hand the Government is bent, firstly, on having its own State bank and on doing something to stabilise the currency, and secondly on a vast programme of railway, road, port and irrigation works. These public works have so far been ruinous, though when completed they should be an asset for economic development.

23. Unless therefore, the Government negotiates a foreign loan [illegible] (this I will revert to later—it looks as though in a not very distant future it will be necessary drastically to curtail expenditure under many heads if it is to meet its obligations and maintain the administration. In spite of previous [illegible] asperations, the Oriental taste for expensive toys will assert itself. Much public money is squandered on municipal gardens, on statues, on the Ghazi's own new craze for developing a watering place at Yalova, and, most of all, upon the creation of Angora itself. Enormous public buildings out of all proportion to the needs and resources of the country are rising in the new capital, while only 5 miles away on the stricken Anatolian plateau, the peasant is huddling with his buffalo and children and wife in a tiny mud hovel.

24. The position as I see it, then, is briefly as follows: The country at large is spending beyond its income. The consequence of this is acute depression. This can only be relieved by an improvement in agriculture which is the primary source of the country's wealth. Roads, railways, harbours, irrigation, chemical manures, agricultural machinery, agricultural credit and expert advice and superintendence would all contribute to such an improvement. But these things demand capital, and while the Government has none to spare, the foreigner—and he has probably been right so far—has, with few exceptions, not yet found the attitude of the administration or the commercial possibilities good enough for him to sink his money in the country. Conditions may gradually become more attractive for foreign capital. But meanwhile the country will be forced to subsist at a very low level. During the months when the last crops have been exhausted and the new crops not yet gathered many hundreds of thousands of peasants must be near starvation. The destitution in towns is not much less. But the Government is resolute and apparently strong, the townsman dare not rebel and the peasant patiently tightens his belt still more.

25. It is a stage of transition. The old economic order of the Ottoman Empire is gone with the old political order and the old social order. Besides the actual ravages of war, frontiers have changed, markets have been lost and millions of Greeks, Armenians and Syrians, who were the best workers, middlemen and financiers have gone. The potential sources of wealth still remain in the soil but despite ardent desire and considerable administrative reforms, the new Turkey has not yet evolved a sound economic order. Granted that there be no political upheaval within or without and that climatic conditions prove fair, the prosperity of Turkey may gradually return. It would be hastened by the judicious expenditure of foreign money either by the State or by private enterprise, but probably the Government is not disposed to provide adequate security. While, therefore, I do not anticipate anything in the nature of a general collapse, I fear that it may take some years for Turkey to raise herself from the present depression to a condition of economic soundness.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

(E 6101/225/44) No. 78.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 25.)

(No. 461)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 21, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 311 of the 18th July last I reported a sensational case which had been pursued upon the prosecution of the Greek newspaper the "Chronica." It appears now that the authorities have relented. The original verdict was quashed when reconsidered by the Court of Cassation and the lower court has now seen fit to persuade itself that the terms used by the "Chronica" were not necessarily offensive to the dignity of the Turkish army. The proprietress has consequently been acquitted and released and Greek opinion is relieved, but it is to be noted that the lady spent some four months in prison.

2. In my despatch referred to above, I also mentioned what is known as the Powder Monopoly Scandal." This, too, at last seems likely to be settled more or less to the satisfaction of the unfortunate members of the Jewish community, who for the last four months have been kept in jail. It is fairly certain now that when the recriminations of Ministers and ex-Ministers threatened to result in comprehensive exposures, a friend reminded the Ghazi that he, too, had received something from the concern, though it was only a gold cigarette case. Thereupon the Ghazi flung the cigarette case away and bade the Minister of Justice enquire into the allegation of the six Jews that they had had to distribute backshish at Angora. Hence the exemplary rigour with which these gentlemen were treated. They have now been let out of prison on payment of £1,000 sterling each by way of bail, and I trust that the whole matter will be settled without much more ado.

3. While the present Turkish attitude to the minorities at Constantinople is as indicated above, there are signs that towards the remnants of the Christian population further east it is much less favourable. The enclosed despatch from the acting British consul at Mersina shows pretty clearly that the objective of the

authorities in Cilicia is gradually and by dint of petty persecution to squeeze out the local Christians, most of whom are Syrians of the Orthodox faith. Indeed, it is perhaps remarkable that these people have not been driven out long ago. The explanation is possibly that they are convenient to plunder and useful in other ways. I have heard no confirmation here of the story of the murder of the Orthodox priest at Mardin, reported in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Catton's despatch. It seems to me not entirely impossible that it may be another version of the story of the murder of the Armenian Catholic priest at Diarbekr, which has been brought to the notice of the League of Nations (see your despatch No. 704 of the 4th instant). Until more evidence is forthcoming I prefer to withhold judgment as to the veracity of both these stories.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 78.

Acting Consul Catton to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 20.)

Sir, *Mersina, October 28, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report on the position of the Christians in this district and in the interior.

2. The head of the French Capuchin missions at Mersina and Tarsus (Père Ichaondy) told me the other day that their missions were just, and only just, tolerated. They were not permitted to teach, and they are held up to all kinds of ridicule. At Tarsus they are booed and even stoned in the streets by children and roughs, but at Mersina it is not quite so bad; they are even permitted to toll their church bell.

3. The Syrian Christians (Turkish subjects) are harassed from pillar to post. They need special police travel permits to travel from Mersina to Adana and *vice versa*, and to go farther afield they need a special permit from Angora, which sometimes takes months to obtain and very often is never obtained. They have no difficulty in obtaining a visa to leave the country.

4. At Mardin, only a few days ago, the local police called at the house of the Orthodox priest and commenced to question him regarding a service he had held. The police said that the service was a secret one and that it was illegal. During the cross-examination the priest, who was a very old man, was accompanied by his servant, whom the police tried to order away, but he declined to leave his master. He was eventually obliged to leave to answer the door; upon his return he found only the mutilated body of his late master. The poor old priest had been literally cut to pieces. The servant vows that only the police could have done it as nobody else could have got into the room.

5. The Catholic Mission at Yeni Kharput (El Aziz) has been obliged to close its doors, and the four priests who formed the mission left the country for Beirut on the 24th–25th September; they consisted of two Armenians, one Frenchman and one German. There are now practically no Christians in that region.

6. The Armenians are leaving the country in small family batches for French Syria.

7. I have been told by a local government official that the Government really wish the Syrian Christians to clear out voluntarily. If they go to the Government with any kind of complaint, they are told "If you don't like it, get out."

8. Regarding the two incidents at Mardin and Yeni Kharput, I cannot vouch for the truth of them, but my informants assured me that they were correct. The information from the Mardin incident I received from the American Mission Adana and that of the incident from the Catholic Mission Mersina.

9. Should any further information come to my notice on this subject I shall not fail to report it.

I have, &c.
B. J. CATTON.

[E 6102/903/44] **No. 79.**

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 25.)

(No. 462.)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 21, 1929.*

WITH reference to Sir Horace Rumbold's despatch No. 772 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to report that my Italian colleague has just returned from an interrupted holiday in order to take leave of the Turkish Government on his appointment to the Embassy in Berlin.

2. I shall be sorry to lose Signor Orsini Baroni for, as I have informed you in my reports on the heads of missions in Turkey, I have found him an agreeable and able colleague.

3. Signor Orsini Baroni's work in this country has fully merited the approbation of his Government. When he arrived in Turkey in October 1925 Turco-Italian relations were in a far from happy state. He will leave them now on a stable basis of friendship. The change may not be wholly the work of Signor Orsini Baroni, but he has shown himself in bad times as well as in good a wise and dignified upholder of his country's interests. Italian Government may well be fortunate if his successor proves as successful in winning and keeping, at any rate in appearance, the confidence of the Turk.

4. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin.

I have, &c.
G. C.

E 6103/86/44 **No. 80.**

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 501. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, November 21, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 413 of the 3rd instant I stated that the Turkish Government were expecting a visit from Count Volpi, ex-Minister of Finance in Italy.

Count Volpi has come and gone, and I have the honour to enclose a copy of a confidential letter from the Assistant Director-General of the Ottoman Bank to the correspondence of the bank in Paris, giving an account of the visit. The Ottoman Bank has excellent sources of information, and probably this account is as near to the actual facts as we are likely to get. My own impression is that Count Volpi may, indeed, have found Turkish Government finances in a healthier state than he expected, which in turn may have led him to the optimistic views of which he was profuse, but I cannot believe that a financier of his capacity could, in thinking things over, have failed to size up the situation more accurately, and I suspect that Count Volpi was moved more by securing advantages for Italian trade and industry than by a desire for Turkey.

3. Mr. Reid gave me the letter in confidence and simply that I might learn all that the Ottoman Bank know about Count Volpi's visit, and he might have omitted the last two paragraphs, in which he suggests a certain policy to his committee. Since, however, these paragraphs are included I venture to make the following comments. Probably the best thing that could happen to Turkish finance would be, as Mr. Reid suggests, a State Bank, in which the Ottoman Bank would participate. But I foresee great difficulties in the way. The Turkish Government under Ismet Pasha is essentially Nationalist, and its view is that the State Bank should be strictly national. It might, indeed, accept capital from the Ottoman Bank, but it would not allow any representative of that bank to sit on the board of the National Bank or have any share in the direction of its affairs. Obviously, while such sentiments prevail, the committee of the Ottoman Bank are unlikely to contribute to the State Bank. But I see no harm in the Ottoman Bank at all events making an offer such as Mr. Reid suggests.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 80.

Assistant Director-General of Ottoman Bank to Committee of the Ottoman Bank, Paris.

(Confidentielle.)

Messieurs, *Constantinople, le 16 novembre* 1929.

POUR faire suite à nos précédentes communications à ce sujet, je vous envoie les renseignements suivants au sujet du récent séjour du Comte Volpi à Ankara.

Le Gouvernement turc n'a pas pris l'initiative d'inviter le Comte Volpi à venir en Turquie ; c'est ce dernier qui, sur l'instigation de M. Mussolini, aurait, par l'entremise de Sonad Bey, Ambassadeur de Turquie à Rome, demandé à aller en Turquie pour affaires [illegible] au moment où il serait tout disposé, si [illegible] à examiner sur place la question d'une Banque d'État et sur la stabilisation de la monnaie.

Le Ministre turc des Finances se trouvant en congé à Izmir au moment où le Gouvernement turc recevait de son Ambassadeur à Rome la proposition du Comte Volpi. Il n'a pas été consulté et n'a appris ce voyage qu'après que Tewfik Ruchdi Bey eût déjà écrit à l'Ambassadeur de Turquie à Rome que le Gouvernement recevrait avec plaisir le Comte Volpi à Ankara. Cela explique que ce soit Tewfik Ruchdi Bey, comme je vous le disais dans ma lettre du 11 novembre courant, qui, n'étant pas invité, ne s'est pas répondre à la demande du Comte Volpi et manifesté le désir du Gouvernement turc de recevoir les conseils de l'ex-Ministre italien des Finances.

Dans les milieux turcs, le Comte Volpi passe pour avoir été fortement impressionné de l'évolution à 180 millions de livres, et pour représenter un ouvrage d'importants capitaux tant italiens qu'étrangers et notamment américains.

Bien que ces renseignements ne paraissent exagérés, je vous les transmets à titre purement informatif n'ayant pas les moyens d'en contrôler l'exactitude et pensant que vous serez vous-mêmes, sans doute, en mesure de les recouper s'il y a lieu.

Nous savons, toutefois, que le Comte Volpi se trouve à la tête d'un groupe financier qui s'intéresse aux travaux d'irrigation, aux aménagements de chutes d'eau et à la création d'énergie hydro-électrique.

A Smyrne, [illegible] le Comte Volpi a été reçu avec les honneurs réservés aux Ambassadeurs. Le Vali, [illegible] Bey, a rendu [illegible] le premier rendez-vous. Le Comte Volpi a été ensuite invité par le Ministre des Finances, puis par les présidents du Conseil d'Administration de la Banque agricole et de la Banque d'Affaires.

Le Comte Volpi était accompagné de deux secrétaires et du directeur de la succursale de Istamboul de la banca commerciale, M. Ponni, revenu spécialement d'Italie, où il se trouvait en congé. M. Ponni est reparti, d'ailleurs, avec le Comte Volpi pour terminer son congé interrompu.

Les deux secrétaires de l'ex-Ministre italien des Finances ont été installés dans la salle d'attente du Ministère des Finances, où ils ont examiné les documents mis à leur disposition, tels que les statistiques de la balance commerciale, les mouvements du change, documents qui ont été régulièrement soumis à tous les experts. Sur sa demande, le Comte Volpi a pu avoir communication du rapport de M. Vissering.

Quant au rapport de M. Muller qu'il a également demandé, il n'était pas encore parvenu à Ankara. A ce propos, le Dr. Schacht a écrit une lettre au Gouvernement turc pour lui faire connaître qu'il était en train de reviser lui-même ce rapport qui, d'après certains renseignements, paraît avoir conclu dans un sens assez pessimiste. Le Dr. Schacht ne partagerait pas ce pessimisme et c'est pourquoi il aurait trouvé nécessaire de reviser le rapport. Il serait, d'ailleurs, aidé dans cette tâche par le directeur de la succursale de Istamboul de la Deutsche Bank, parti pour Berlin récemment pour fournir toute documentation utile au Dr. Schacht.

Le Comte Volpi aurait quitté Ankara plein d'un optimisme dont il a fait, d'ailleurs, part aux milieux gouvernementaux turcs.

Je sais, en tous cas, qu'il a déclaré au correspondant du "Times" que la ville de Istamboul lui avait paru en pleine prospérité.

Cette déclaration, assez inattendue, permet de faire toutes réserves sur le bien-fondé de l'optimisme que l'examen de la situation économique et financière de la Turquie a provoqué chez le Comte Volpi.

Lors du séjour de ce dernier à Ankara, Chukru Bey, directeur général de la Banque agricole, a été toujours avec lui et s'est montré plein d'assiduité à son égard. A ce propos, on a remarqué que Chukru Bey, qui avait, jusqu'ici, la réputation d'être un ennemi de la banque ottomane, avait complètement changé de langage. Dans des

conversations récentes à Ankara, lors du séjour du Comte Volpi, il aurait déclaré, à maintes reprises, dans des milieux financiers, qu'une Banque d'État créée sans la participation de la Banque ottomane ne serait pas viable.

Le Comte Volpi aurait préconisé la création d'une Banque d'État sur le modèle de la Reichsbank dont les rouages sont des plus modernes, et aurait déclaré qu'un capital de £10 millions sterling, plus un crédit extérieur, dont il n'aurait pas précisé le montant, serait suffisant pour les débuts. Il a invité le Gouvernement turc à se procurer, par ses propres moyens, les 6 millions de sterling de ce capital, en offrant de compléter le reste au moyen de capitaux italiens ou autres dont disposent les établissements financiers italiens (Banca commerciale). Élargissant la portée de sa collaboration, il a ajouté que, dans le cas où le Gouvernement turc ne serait pas en mesure de verser lui-même les 6 millions, il se faisait fort de les lui procurer aussi tout en trouvant une formule permettant au Gouvernement d'avoir la jouissance de ces capitaux comme s'il les avait versés lui-même.

Le Comte Volpi, qui paraît tenir beaucoup à introduire à profusion les produits de l'industrie italienne en Turquie (cela paraît, d'ailleurs, avoir été le but principal de son voyage), a trouvé que les formations industrielles turques étaient très mal jointes et qu'elles devraient être réorganisées et complétées. Au cours de ses visites [illegible] à la Banque d'Affaires à Ankara notamment, [illegible] ses conversations de ce que la construction de ces bâtiments ait été faite par une maison étrangère (allemande) et que presque tous les matériaux en aient été commandés à l'étranger.

Les groupes représentés par le Comte Volpi désireraient construire des routes, faire des travaux d'irrigation et obtenir des concessions de mines.

En terminant ce compte rendu du séjour du Comte Volpi en Turquie, j'avais dû avoir d'exprimer l'avis que le moment paraît venu d'adresser, de notre côté au Gouvernement turc un projet sulbainment poussé de Banque d'État, projet qui serait élaboré au moyen des études que nous possédons déjà et qui serait basé sur les conceptions pratiques que notre expérience a fait acquérir à notre établissement. De divers côtés, on m'a dit que le Président du Conseil m'ont fait part de leur conviction que, si les Volpi ou les Vissering, ou les Muller ou Schacht ne peuvent atteindre, dans quelques jours ou le premier de ces hautes [illegible] de la Banque ottomane a des intérêts turques, [illegible] dans le pays.

Le plus court serait donc de [illegible] à ce que le Gouvernement turc nous soumette un projet bien étudié et prenne la partie [illegible] de leur [illegible] à une Banque d'État et à la stabilisation de la livre turque.

Veuillez, &c.

Le Directeur général adjoint,

[E 6225/903/44] No. 81

Mr. Harvey to Mr. A. Henderson.—(*Received December* 2.)

(No. 514)

Sir, *Athens, November* 18, 1929.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 483 of the 24th October, I have the honour to report that M. Polychronidis the new Greek Minister to Turkey left for Angora last Saturday. Before his departure his Excellency had attended a series of conferences at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs presided over by the President of the Council himself where I understand the whole Greek position was explored.

2. I have met M. Polychronidis on one or two occasions recently. He appears to be of a very truthful and conciliatory disposition. He told me that he hoped that he might be able to count on the loyal support of His Majesty's Embassy.

3. His Excellency has recently married a Serbian lady.

4. I am forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

OLIVER HARVEY

E 6376/92/44] No. 82.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 471.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December 4, 1929*

WITH reference to Mr. Harvey's despatch No. 514 of the 18th November last from Athens, I have the honour to report that the new Greek Minister, M. Polychronnadis, presented his letters of credence to the President of the Republic on the 30th November.

2. The speeches exchanged at the ceremony did not go beyond the customary formulæ of mutual goodwill, but the occasion was taken by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to make a public pronouncement affirming his belief that an agreement with Greece was now sure. He added that he had full confidence in M. Venizelos on whose such an agreement, and specially to his entire devotion to the cause to strain the sentimental "Millet" assessing towards friendship between the two countries. While the talk of naval rivalry was due to Greece's desire for supremacy over Turkey at sea (which, despite the assurances of Greek admirals and statesmen, must affect Turkey), the desire for supremacy was in its turn due only to the failure to settle the exchange question and to a resultant lack of general confidence.

3. Simultaneously, however, some resentment has been expressed in the Turkish press at the memorial service recently held in Athens in honour of the Greek Metropolitan of Smyrna, Mgr. Chrysostomos, who was struck down by the Turkish population during the retreat of the Greek army from Western Anatolia. It has been acknowledged that the Athens Government took no part in the service, but the leading article in the "Millet" of the 1st December nevertheless enquires what is gained by such a demonstration, tending to revive old hatreds and exciting warlike feelings in the name of religion. The article adds that the echoes of this act cannot fail to render more difficult the task of those who are about to tackle the problems outstanding between the two countries once more at Angora.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

E 6377/474/44] No. 83.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 9.)

(No. 476.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December 4, 1929*

WITH reference to Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 479 of the 6th November, 1929, I have the honour to inform you that I have received an interesting report from His Majesty's consul at Trebizond on the subject of Russian activities in his consular district. Mr. Matthews reports that while the number of Russian consular posts in the district has remained unchanged during the past year, two further trade delegacies have since then been established at Kars and Batoum respectively. Moreover, the trade delegation at Trebizond itself has been increased from three members in 1928 to eight this year, the staff now consisting of two more of the delegation are Russians (one of whom is a woman) and two Turks. The increase is said to be explained by the increase in imports, which is negligible, but must presumably be ascribed to political motives. A similar idea may be seen in the strong and successful effort now being made to push the sale of cotton goods, which are sold at half or even less than half the price ruling in Russia. The same applies to sugar, which is, nevertheless, barely obtainable in Transcaucasia.

2. During the past year the Russian trade delegation at Trebizond, besides increasing its personnel membership, has appointed a number of local Turkish agents to work activities hitherto managed directly by the delegation, such as the sale of goods, the transport, the customs clearement, and the agency of the Russian Steamship Company. These agents receive six months' credit as well as a commission of 5 per cent. and (according to the head of the local custom house) a fixed salary in addition. It seems clear that the Russians mean to use such agents as instruments for propaganda.

Mr. Matthews is, moreover, confirmed in the view he expressed a year ago that the Russian consular and trade representatives in the district are themselves engaged chiefly in espionage and the diffusion of Soviet propaganda. It seems probable that Russian intrigue may have been responsible for the brigandage which has been rife in the Rizeh district during the last two years, and Mr. Matthews has learnt from a good source that Turkish subjects in Russian pay are carrying on an agitation in the district, particularly in Lazistan, against the Turkish Government. Their task is facilitated by the unpopularity of most of the innovations of the last few years and the distress existing in certain districts such as Ordu and Kerasund. They point out to villagers that although the Government calls itself the People's Government, it is doing nothing for them, and adapt their remarks to the mentality and prejudices of the people whom they are trying to lead astray.

3. The present Russian consul-general at Trebizond, Comrade Deitsoff, is, on the other hand, probably doing less propaganda work than either of his immediate predecessors, Comrade Ettingoff and Comrade Ahmeroff. In the first place, he is very ill; languages, Russian and German, neither of which are generally spoken locally; an [illegible] local press is useless for such purposes since the introduction of [illegible]. It finds difficulty in printing a few news telegrams and advertisements, and has practically no readers. Were it not for a grant from the Government, it would have ceased to exist.

4. As for relations between the two countries generally, they appear to be passing again through a somewhat troubled phase. The Soviet Embassy, strong though its influence still is, lost [illegible] as a result of the advice it gave to the Turkish Government two years ago to refuse Lord Inchcape's loan. While the [illegible] result [illegible] was to create a [illegible] gratitude to His Majesty's Government which [illegible] have been [illegible] in bringing about the Turkish Government seems slowly to have realised that it had backed a very poor horse, and resentment against His Majesty's Government gave place to [illegible] against the Soviet Government, which [illegible] has been largely responsible for the line the Turkish Government has taken in the question. The help given to Anglo-Turkish friendship by the visit of Admiral Field and his squadron last October no doubt [illegible] to counteract [illegible] the proposed visit of Mr. Kalinin should visit Angora, [illegible] has now been postponed [illegible] sine die.

5. Possibly it was felt in Turkey that the commercial situation should be cleared up before the visit took place. Complaints have long been rife again in the Turkish press at the disabilities placed in the way of Turkish merchants endeavouring to sell goods in Russia. The Turkish Government has been seeking to overcome these difficulties in two ways. In the first place, it has decided to entrust the whole export trade to Russia to two Turkish banks, the Banque agricole and the Banque industrielle et minière, which according to the press will form a limited liability company for the purpose. In the second place, it has been negotiating with the Soviet Embassy a new commercial treaty intended, it is understood, to replace that of 1927. Some difficulties appear to have arisen in the conclusion of this treaty. I believe the Turks demanded the right to establish trade delegacies in Russia, and that the Russians feared consequent Turkish propaganda in Azerbaijan and other districts where the population is of Turkish origin. But it was announced in the local press of the 2nd December that a provisional agreement had been concluded which would permit of the immediate exportation of Turkish goods to Russia.

6. The general situation then seems to be that Turco-Russian relations have lately been going through a somewhat unsatisfactory phase. That very great significance is to be attached to this is hardly to be believed. As has [illegible] in despatches from this Embassy, Turkey neither can nor will abandon the goodwill of the Soviet Government, and within a short period M. Karakhan will presumably pay his visit to Angora.

I have &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 6419/1971/44] No. 84.

Consul Monck-Mason to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 79.)
Sir, *Aleppo, November 14, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 32 of the 16th April, 1929, on the subject of Armenian settlements in Syria, I have the honour to report that refugees have been arriving continually from the regions of Kharput, Diarbekir and Mardin during the last six months, their numbers having been considerably increased during the last few weeks. I have been shown a copy of a report on conditions in Turkey by a worker for a German mission, who is a French Catholic priest, which is being forwarded to Germany and Denmark. The source of information is a newly-arrived refugee of good education from Kharput, who studied in the Capuchin mission school there.

2. The settled policy of the Turkish Government seems to be to get rid of all Christian elements in the distant Anatolian provinces by all means short of absolute massacre, of which there has been admittedly very little. While the Turkish authorities would, of course, be the first to regret such unfortunate incidents as the recent unofficial murder of the Gregorian Bishop of Diarbekir by a band of drunken soldiers, it is probably felt that anything like an organised massacre might give rise to protests by foreign Powers. It occurs to me, also, that one of the reasons why all Christians (not only Armenians) are being removed may be the natural unwillingness of the Turks to cherish critical observers of the deplorable conditions which prevail in the eastern provinces.

3. To resume the report mentioned above: Aleppo has been the sanctuary to which are coming daily caravans of Armenian refugees. Whole families are sick, and nearly all are absolutely destitute. "In Turkey to-day," says the Armenian from Kharput, "we have no means of existence; we are persecuted, suspected, robbed, ill treated, thrown into prison, judged, and, if we are lucky, deported." Armenian cemeteries had been ransacked for stones necessary for building barracks, and lately the monks of the Capuchin convent woke up to find the gravestones of the Catholic cemetery gone. The monks found the stones in the yard of the military barracks, and after promises had been made for their return, the theft was denied, and the monks accused of insulting the republican troops. The garden of the convent was sown by Turkish soldiers with some British hand grenades and a small sack of bombs, the seed being afterwards "discovered" with some ceremony by a number of high officials and army officers. In spite of the written protest of the Superior against this outrage, a military court tried the monks for high treason, but was obliged to acquit them for lack of evidence.

4. A few days later a bomb was thrown into the Armenian Protestant church, which was allowed to burn; a number of Armenians, among them the pastor, were arrested as incendiaries, shortly afterwards set free and deported. The church was then transformed into a munition depot. The turn of the Syrian and Gregorian churches came next. The latter were simply condemned as unsafe, while bombs were thrown into the Syrian church (which did not explode). The monks (whether of the Syrian or Capuchin convent I do not know) were then given to understand that they were to leave Kharput, the method being that they were authorised to sell all their property except the buildings. On their refusal to submit, they were shown their names on a list of deportees and handed their passports.

5. By a Government decree of the 1st January, 1929, Armenians may not sell or bequeath their property, which at their death goes to the State. Armenian peasants are concentrated in the provincial capitals, their houses, fields and harvest being given to Turkish refugees. There are to-day some 250 to 300 Armenian families in Kharput, where before the war 180,000 lived.

6. Christians in Kharput to-day are leaderless and without church or pastor, and live in continual fear. Those who have a little money flee towards the Syrian frontier; the poorer ones wander away on foot. Some families have only found sanctuary in Syria after tramping, with small children, for weeks and even months, prostrated with malaria.

7. At Diarbekir, after the murder of the Armenian bishop by seven drunken soldiers, the bishop's wife and his servant were imprisoned and subjected to daily torture (which is probably still going on) to make them confess that the murder was the act of one of their own people. Many Armenians were arrested and, after trial, exiled to other parts of Turkey.

8. Three attempts have been made on the life of the Jacobite Bishop of Diarbekir, who has on each occasion miraculously escaped. The Turks hid a bomb in the Chaldean church, but the priest saw the deed done and retrieved the infernal machine, which he threw into a brook. When no explosion occurred, the priest was dragged before the police. When he threatened to complain to the Angora Government he was escorted over the frontier.

9. The report ends with a few remarks to the effect that, while under the present régime army officers and civil functionaries are better off, being paid well and regularly, the people are suffering oppression. The simple Turkish peasant sees the decline of Government, race and religion. Thousands groan under the intolerable burden of taxation. The universal hope for better days is shattered, and the people only long for any change, since nothing can be worse than the present situation.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador, Constantinople, and His Majesty's consular officers at Beirut and Damascus.

I have, &c.
A. MONCK-MASON.

[E 6525/274/44] No. 85.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 16.)

(No. 477.)
Sir, *Angora, December 9, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the French Ambassador told me yesterday that a Franco-Turkish treaty of friendship and conciliation may be expected shortly. Mentioning no names, but evidently having in mind Turkey's relations with Italy and Russia, M. de Chambrun said that, for his part, he was no advocate of a policy of running after Turkey and perhaps exchanging theatrical visits. He preferred to cultivate with Turkey the same sort of relations as His Majesty's Government had established. When, therefore, the idea of a Franco-Turkish treaty of friendship had been mooted by way of crowning the agreements he had concluded on the 29th June last regarding Syria, he had raised no objection, but had suggested that it would be tactful to allow Fethi Bey, as he was the Ghazi's friend, the credit of negotiating this further agreement. Since then M. de Chambrun had heard nothing until a day or two ago Tevfik Rüstü Bey had told him that the new treaty seemed to be on the point of conclusion.

2. M. de Chambrun's object in speaking to me as he did was no doubt to make it clear that the forthcoming treaty indicated no intention of vying with us or anyone else for Turkish favours. It must be believed that the forward policy pursued here by Italy causes the French Embassy keen concern, but, for all that, M. de Chambrun's attitude, like that of his immediate predecessor, has been dignified and refreshingly free from the fawning to which the French Embassy was prone in the earlier years after the war.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 6619/474/44] No. 86.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 480.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Angora, December 18, 1929.*

PROTOCOL was signed 17th December with M. Karakhan prolonging Turco-Russian treaty of friendship and neutrality of 1925 for another three years subject to right to terminate it after two years.

In addition, each party undertakes not to conclude any political agreement with a State which is immediate neighbour by land or sea of the other party without the consent of that party.

Text by this bag. Comment follows.

[E 6689/86/44] No. 87.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 488. Confidential.)

Sir, *Angora, December 17, 1920.*

IN his despatch No. 455 of the 13th ultimo, His Majesty's Ambassador discussed at length the economic condition of this country. If any justification was wanted for the misgivings expressed therein, it has been furnished in ample measure by the collapse of the Turkish exchange at the end of last month. Since the commercial secretary of this Embassy reported on that occurrence in his despatch of the 7th instant, there has been time for a thorough investigation. The poor harvests, the flood of imports and the panic created by the Government's mishandling of the situation appear largely responsible for the sudden drop in the exchange. In addition, this year Turkey has, for the first time, had to make heavy payments abroad on account of the Oriental Railways, Anatolian Railway and public debt.

2. While the above analysis of the situation may be taken as correct, it was some time before the Turkish Government really understood a situation which mortified and thoroughly scared it. Its first inclination was to denounce speculators—supposed to be mainly Greek—on the Constantinople bourse. It then perceived that the volume of imports and exports might have something to do with the trouble, and it proceeded to start a campaign for "buying Turkish." The Ghazi and the Minister of the Interior ordered suits of native cloth, all officials were told to dress in native stuffs, the nation was called on to forgo foreign luxuries, Government departments were forbidden to make purchases from abroad, and measures were taken to limit dealings in exchange to *bond fide* business. The Government also issued emphatic denials of the rumours of an impending forced loan, assured the country that it would follow a firm and consistent policy in dealing with a matter which it regarded as one of life or death, and took the practical measure of borrowing £500,000 sterling from the Ottoman Bank, a step which must have been as distasteful to the nationalism of the authorities as it was encouraging for the future of the bank. These measures gradually eased the position.

3. On the 12th instant the Prime Minister dealt with the whole question in a long speech, which he read to the National Assembly. He correctly attributed the fall in the exchange to over-importation, under-exportation, unusual foreign payments, and, in particular, panic. He announced that the Government was going to do all in its power to encourage the production and use of Turkish goods (but there would be no boycott of foreign goods), to promote economy and saving—ideas quite foreign to the Turk—among the people, and to punish speculation. He stated that the aim of the Government was to make the country self-supporting by preventing it from spending more than it earned. Government and municipal authorities had been prohibited from giving any further foreign orders. An "exchange budget" would in future be drawn up besides the ordinary budget, and henceforth public authorities would be unable to buy foreign exchange without specific Cabinet permission. Ismet Pasha declared that the State Bank would be founded with Turkish capital, shares being offered to the public, but that it would not be employed to effect stabilisation. Stabilisation would be achieved by the operation of the measures he had already mentioned. The Pasha made a great appeal to the Assembly and the country at large to help the Government in its policy and particularly to the women of Turkey to maintain economy in the home. It was a great national question, but Turks were not shaken nowadays by the diffidence which used to assail them in the days of the Empire when they were called upon to tackle a new problem. They were confident, and he appealed to them all to approach these difficulties as true sportsmen. These and many other rhetorical appeals to patriotic sentiment left the Pasha completely hoarse, but moved the Deputies to frequent applause and secured him a unanimous vote of confidence.

4. There is no doubt that the Government has passed through anxious moments since the crisis began. The economic nature of the old Turkey was such as to allow Turks to indulge a supreme indifference for economic laws. As the country has been getting on to modern lines they have begun to feel an occasional pinch. Tevfik Rüstü Bey admitted that when the crisis came he and his colleagues in the Cabinet had not the least conception of what it meant or how to deal with it. In any case, the Government are now in real earnest, recognising, as they do, the vital importance of the matter for themselves and for the country. There has been some tendency,

especially among the French here and in Constantinople, to see in a recent and unusual absence of the Ghazi at Yalova an inclination to saddle Ismet Pasha with all the odium of an unpopular situation and then to recall Fethi Bey from Paris to replace him. But this idea seems to be far-fetched and more likely due to a pious wish of the French, who believe that, if Fethi Bey were in power, the Ghazi would support him in contracting a foreign loan to remedy the economic situation. However, the Ghazi early associated himself with Ismet's "Buy Turkish" movement and telegraphed from Yalova a blessing of the policy which Ismet Pasha announced in the Assembly. There seems therefore to be little ground for supposing that he is not giving Ismet Pasha full support.

5. The most satisfactory thing, at any rate, is that the lira has recovered about 100 points, and now stands at £T 10·30 to the £ sterling. Whether the Turkish Government will manage to bring to a final solution a problem which is admittedly strange to them remains to be seen. Meantime, I learn confidentially that the acting director-general of the Ottoman Bank, thinking the psychological moment had come for assuring the bank's future, recently recommended the directors to offer the Government a loan of £2 million sterling, as being the smallest sum which would suffice to get the Government out of its difficulties.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 6690/3106/44] No. 88.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 489.)

Sir, *Angora, December 18, 1920.*

IN his despatch No. 240 of the 31st May, His Majesty's Ambassador informed you of his opinion that it was desirable to maintain contact with the Adrianople district in view of the fact that there is now no British consular officer stationed in that town. For this reason, Sir George Clerk recently instructed His Majesty's vice-consul at Constantinople to visit Adrianople for a few days.

2. I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of Mr. Cumberbatch's report. It is, for the most part, without any great interest, but it shows that Eastern Thrace is as moribund as ever, and that, like other parts of this country, it has suffered severely from the adverse climatic conditions of the past year.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

Enclosure in No. 88.

Vice-Consul Cumberbatch to Mr. Edmonds.

Sir, *Constantinople, December 13, 1920.*

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with your instructions, I left for Adrianople on the 9th December, and returned on the 11th December.

2. Emin Bey, the Vali, who was expecting my visit, received me with great affability. He expressed his regret that His Majesty's Government had found it necessary to withdraw Mr. Dawkins, and his hope that he may be replaced in the near future.

3. The Vali admitted that complete stagnation continues to prevail in Adrianople. He laid the blame for it on the proximity of the frontiers, and, on my suggestion that the present situation resulted in great measure from the failure to replace the Greek agriculturists who had left Thrace by a sufficient number of exchanged Turks, he showed a distinct disinclination to pursue the subject further.

4. I had interviews with the local manager of the Ottoman Bank and with the foreign consular officials, French, Italian, Greek and Bulgarian, all of whom agreed that the stagnation in Adrianople has become worse during the six months that have elapsed since Mr. Were visited the district, owing to the almost complete failure of the cereal crops. They attribute this failure to the abnormal severity of last winter, followed by a long period of drought during the summer.

5. I was assured that the failure to replace the Greek farming population by a corresponding number of exchanged Turks is due, not as has been suggested, to their settlement in Thrace being discouraged by the Turkish Government, but to their own fear of settling in a country which, owing to the close proximity of the Greek frontier, would be likely to suffer through military action in the event of a conflict between Turkey and Greece.

6. I understand that the terms of the Thracian Frontier Convention are strictly observed by the Turkish authorities. There is no ground for suspecting that any military force is being introduced into the demilitarised zone in the guise of gendarmerie, or that the strength of gendarmerie, police, &c., maintained in the zone is in excess of that allowed by the convention. In the course of a trip I made by motor car to Kirk-Kilissé I saw nothing to throw doubt on the correctness of this information. In the country between Adrianople and the boundary of the zone I saw only three gendarmes.

7. A concession for the lighting by electricity of Adrianople for thirty-four years has quite recently been granted by the municipality to the Italian firm of Marelli. Work has begun on the foundations of the building to contain the plant on the site of an old Turkish cemetery just outside the town. The cost of setting up the plant is estimated at £T. 200,000, and it is hoped that the distribution of current will commence in June 1930.

I have, &c.
CYRIL J. CUMBERBATCH.

[E 6691/5266/44] No. 89.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 490.)
Sir, *Angora, December* 18, 1929.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs the other evening if he could account for the rumours published in the "Daily Telegraph" of the 7th instant to the effect that Turkey was contemplating joining the League of Nations. For the next twenty minutes Tevfik Rüstü Bey gave me his views with his utmost volubility. The gist of his eloquence was that Turkey's attitude was just the same. She would not join until she was assured of a place on the Council. She could not subordinate her liberty of action to the decision of other Powers. She had been told to trust the League over Mosul. What better warning could she have had?

2. Tevfik Rüstü Bey's ingenuousness is not so complete as to oblige one to take his remarks at their face value. His complete silence about the origin of current rumours almost suggests that, even if he is in no way responsible for them, they do not displease him. He is probably stating his terms rather high now with a view to a bargain later on. Turkey, as His Majesty's Ambassador observed in his despatch No. 412 o. the 10th October last, is gradually approaching the League. On the one hand, her desire for westernisation, which is at the root of her internal policy, carries her towards Geneva. On the other hand, she foresees the possibility that with the accession of Egypt and Iraq she might appear on the Council as the representative of a group of Eastern—but not "oriental"—States. However, Turkey's inclination towards the League is subject to her desire not to put an undue strain on her relations with Russia. It seems possible that one of the objects M. Karakhan had in coming here was to keep Turkey away from Geneva.

3. The "Daily Telegraph" suggests that Turkey is thinking of a League loan. The one thing Ismet Pasha has been trying to avoid throughout his premiership is a foreign loan. But if he should be forced by the economic situation to borrow abroad, he might prefer to do so under the auspices of the League rather than to put his country in the hands of one Power alone.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 6692/474/44] No. 90.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 491.)
Sir, *Angora, December* 18, 1929.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 60 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit the accompanying copy of the protocol signed on the 17th instant with M. Karakhan. As the bag is about to close, I beg leave to reserve comments for a later despatch.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

Enclosure in No. 90.

Protocol.

LE Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes et le Gouvernement de la République turque, reconnaissant conforme à leurs intérêts mutuels et au désir dont ils sont animés de maintenir et de consolider davantage leurs relations normales, durables et de sincère amitié, ont décidé de prolonger la durée de validité du Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité signé à Paris le 17 décembre 1925, et ils ont nommé à cet effet, d'une part, M. Karakhan, Commissaire-adjoint du Peuple pour les Affaires étrangères de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes, et M. Souritz, Ambassadeur en Turquie de l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes; et, d'autre part, Dr. Tewfik Ruchdi Bey, Ministre des Affaires étrangères de la République turque;

Lesquels ont arrêté les termes du protocole ci-dessous:

ARTICLE 1er.

Le Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité conclu entre l'Union des Républiques soviétistes socialistes et la République turque à Paris, le 17 décembre 1925, est prolongé pour la durée de deux ans à dater de son expiration. Si, toutefois, une des parties contractantes ne prévient pas l'autre, six mois avant le terme des deux années, de son désir d'y mettre fin, le traité sera considéré comme prolongé automatiquement pour une nouvelle période d'une année.

ARTICLE 2.

Chacune des deux parties déclare qu'entre elle et d'autres États se trouvant dans le voisinage immédiat de terre ou de mer de l'autre partie il n'existe aucun engagement en dehors des actes déjà livrés à la publicité.

Chacune des deux parties s'engage à ne pas entamer, sans en référer à l'autre partie, des négociations tendant à la conclusion d'accords politiques avec les États se trouvant dans le voisinage immédiat de terre ou de mer de ladite partie et de ne conclure de tels accords qu'avec le consentement de celle-ci, étant bien entendu que les actes ayant pour but d'établir ou de maintenir les relations normales avec ces États et destinés à être livrés à la publicité restent en dehors de l'engagement ci-dessus stipulé.

ARTICLE 3.

Le présent protocole, qui sera annexé au Traité d'Amitié et de Neutralité soviéto-turc et qui en fera partie intégrale, est valable pour la durée de validité du traité prolongé conformément aux dispositions contenues dans l'article 1er ci-dessus.

Il entrera en vigueur dès sa ratification, qui sera notifiée par les deux parties contractantes.

Fait à Ankara, en deux exemplaires, le 17 décembre 1929.

[E 6768/474/44] No. 91.

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received December 30.)

(No. 494.)

Sir, *Angora, December 20, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 491 of the 18th instant, I have the honour to report that M. Karakhan arrived at Constantinople in a destroyer on the 12th instant, reached Angora the next day and left Angora on the 17th. During his few days' stay he was the object of the utmost courtesy and hospitality on the part of the authorities. It is safe to say that it is a long time since any particular attention paid to an Armenian in Turkey has been of this nature. If by the protocol which he took away in his pocket M. Karakhan has in any measure humbled Turkey, it is to be hoped that members of his race see some poetic justice therein.

2. The visit was certainly a success. The Government and the Soviet Embassy sustained an intensive exchange of official hospitality. At the two balls, at which members of the Diplomatic Corps were present, M. Karakhan, with his back to the wall, watched the dancing beys and hanums with a sphinx-like air. He talked to people through an interpreter or in pretty good English, and was shadowed himself by his own Assistant Director of the Protocol. As soon as the date of M. Karakhan's visit was fixed, the Ghazi had suddenly gone off with his cronies to see how his new hobby, the development of a watering-place at Yalova, was getting on. He seemed to have done nothing particular while there, and he returned to Angora only just in time to give M. Karakhan an audience. This absence caused a little speculation. The Ghazi may have wished to be associated as little as possible with pro-Russian demonstrations. Or he may have wanted to reduce to a minimum his contact with the representative of a State which he cannot consider innocent of agitation against his own person. Again, he may have been influenced by his particular aversion for Armenians. Apart from the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, members of the Cabinet were rather conspicuous by their absence from the various functions.

3. The truth seems to be that Angora regarded this visit as a thing it was obliged to be happy about. When the Turks say through the glib lips of Tewfik Rushdi Bey how much they love the Russians, what they really mean is that potentially they fear them so much that they are delighted to be friends with them. The bullying of the Tsars is not forgotten. It is an enormous relief to be on such friendly terms with Russia. The Turks have no fear of her at present. They merely dread the day when internal consolidation will allow her to resume her old pushfulness in the south. In the meantime they regard it as of paramount importance to keep Russia well-disposed.

4. There is not much doubt that the initiative for this visit was taken by Russia. It was not surprising that after Admiral Field's visit Russia should see in Turkey a westward tendency which needed checking. The idea of renewing the Paris treaty of 1925 had been in the air for some time, but I gather that M. Karakhan sprang on the Turks the self-denying clause regarding the other's neighbours. I believe that he demanded considerably more, but I have little doubt that he and M. Surits had to bring all their guns to bear to get as much as they did. In the last resort the Turks are probably always brought to book by the military consideration that, until their relations with the rest of the world are secure beyond all possibility of doubt, they must be able to count on having the moral and material support of Russia in an emergency. They remember that their struggle after the Great War was only possible because Russia helped them. Indeed, references to this help have been noteworthy in recent utterances on both sides.

5. Many Turks seem to have thought at first sight that the new protocol meant a kind of vassalage. But it is quite certain that the Ghazi and Ismet Pasha, whose policy is westernisation, have no such intention. The Government probably argues that, in undertaking to get Russian permission before making political agreements with Russia's neighbours, it is only renouncing a right which it has no intention of exercising, at any rate within the next three years. On the other hand, the Government very likely comforts itself with the hope that on balance it will gain thanks to the check it will have on Russia's treaty making powers in Persia and Afghanistan. These seem to be the two countries where the protocol may prove of some practical importance. In particular, the Turks are uneasy about the strength of Russian influence in North-Western Persia, where they have affinities with most of the population, or where the Kurds may be used to make the Kurds on the Turkish side

of the frontier disaffected. Tewfik Rushdi Bey tried to make out to the Roumanian Chargé d'Affaires that, as article 2 deals only with the two countries and their immediate neighbours, the protocol, by implication, makes it easier for Turkey to cultivate close relations with the Western Powers. But this argument is an indication of his ingeniousness rather than his ingennousness.

6. The authorities know that Communist propaganda continues unabated, but, as it has no field outside the few places which are in a measure industrial, they can keep it within safe bounds. Several recent articles in the Turkish press contained a passing warning about each country minding its own business, and M. Karakhan was careful to echo this seemly maxim in a speech. The Under-Secretary told me that negotiations for a further commercial treaty would be pursued in Moscow. He said that the Russians treated Turkish traders abominably, but that the difference between the economic systems of the two countries being so great he had no real hope that a fresh commercial treaty would make things any better. These things show how much the Turks feel obliged to put up with.

7. Believing that they have successfully avoided any really embarrassing commitment, the Turks are, on the whole, probably well satisfied with the results of the visit. In his parting message to the press M. Karakhan said that his five days in Angora had seemed like ten years, but that was probably one of those things which might have been expressed otherwise.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

P.S. M. Karakhan and his destroyer were storm-bound in the Bosphorus for some days after his return from Angora, but left for Sevastopol on the 23rd December.

W. S. E.